

Issued with Half a Million Leeds Anti-slavery Tracts.

A

'CLOUD OF WITNESSES'

AGAINST

SLAVERY AND OPPRESSION.

CONTAINING THE

ACTS, OPINIONS, AND SENTIMENTS OF INDIVIDUALS AND
SOCIETIES IN ALL AGES.

SELECTED FROM VARIOUS SOURCES, AND FOR THE MOST PART
CHRONOLOGICALLY ARRANGED,

BY WILSON ARMISTEAD.

"O execrable man, so to aspire
Above his brethren, to himself assuming
Authority usurp'd from God, not given;

Man over man
He made not lord, such title to Himself
Reserving." MILTON

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INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

DR. GUTHRIE, in a speech at a recent meeting in Edinburgh, disclaimed the necessity of spending time in proving that slavery is incompatible with Christianity. "I had as soon prove," said the Doctor, "that the sun is brilliant—I had as soon prove that 2 and 2 make 4. Slavery is incompatible with the *plainest precepts* of Christianity. The poles of the earth are not further asunder than the one is distant from the other."

With the latter portion of the Doctor's remarks I have the fullest concurrence. No two things can be in their nature more diametrically opposed to each other than Christianity and Slavery. But as regards the necessity of *proving* this being *uncalled for*, I must beg leave to differ so long as slavery is sanctioned and sustained by the professors of the Christian Church in America—so long as its ministers are its open defenders and apologists.

Those who are under the influences of a pro-slavery feeling, are very differently circumstanced to those who are injured from their infancy to a system of oppression, whose hearts naturally become hardened, and their feelings blunted and deadened towards its victims. Thus the practice which

strikes one man with horror, may seem to another who was born and brought up in the midst of it, innocent and allowable. It is possible for persons to become too familiar with an evil to see and feel its magnitude; and I can readily believe whilst the Church and its ministers in America apologize for slavery, defend it, and invest it with a garb of innocence and respectability, that the people should be lulled into an insensibility of the enormity of the evils of the inhuman system, which appear so obvious to impartial and distant observers.

Dr. Channing has very justly remarked, "Men may lose the power of seeing an object fairly, by being too near, as well as by being too remote. The slaveholder is too familiar with slavery to understand it. To be educated in injustice, is almost necessary to be blinded by it more or less. To exercise usurped power from birth, is the surest way to look upon it as a right and as a good."

"It is a melancholy fact," observes Dr. Madden, "that such is the evil influence of slavery in every country where it exists, that the notions of the best men become perverted, and that men are let down by such easy stages from crime to crime, that even the ministers of the gospel, of all persuasions, fall insensibly from the contemplation and intolerance of slavery into the practice of it."

If anywhere the slave should find a friend, it should be in the person of a minister of religion. He at least should be ready to extend to all the blessings of civil and religious liberty, and to do to others as he would have others do to him. Unfortunately in America this is not the case. Men assume the name of Christ in that country, and sanction

slavery, and are often slave-owners themselves. Nearly the whole American church is tainted in this respect.

It is notorious that most of the religious communities in the United States, and their ministers, are the defenders and apologists of slaveholding; so that it has been truly said, the Church is the bulwark of slavery. No possible argument that sophistry could suggest from political economy, from science, from benevolence itself, has been left untried, to sustain this evil. The sanctions of religion have been attempted to be appropriated largely to its support. Ministers of the religion of love and good-will have themselves

“Tortured the pages of the hallowed Bible,
To sanction crime, and robbery, and blood!”

Not only have many of the churches failed to protest against the sin and shame of slavery, but actually many of the pastors of American churches have notoriously lifted their voice in its defence. In some of the older slave States, as Virginia and South Carolina, churches, in their *corporate* character, hold slaves, who are generally hired out for the support of the minister. The following is taken from the *Charleston Courier* of February 12, 1835:—

“Field Negroes, by Thomas Gadsdon.—On Tuesday, the 17th, will be sold, at the north of the Exchange, at ten o'clock, a prime gang, of ten negroes, accustomed to the culture of cotton and provisions belonging to the Independent Church in Christ Church Parish. February 6.”

At Charleston, South Carolina, where, in 1835, the abolitionists became active, a public meeting was held to complete, in the same spirit in which they were commenced, preparations for excluding anti-slavery publications from circulation, and for ferreting out persons suspected of favouring the doctrines of the abolitionists, that they might

be subjected to Lynch law. At this assembly, the *Charleston Courier* informs us,

"The clergy of all denominations attended in a body, lending their sanction to the proceedings, and adding, by their presence, to the impressive character of the scene."

The Rev.* T. R. DEW, Professor in William and Mary College (Episcopalian), says,

"Slavery is established by Divine authority, among even the elect of heaven, the children of Israel."

The Rev. N. BANGS, D.D., Wesleyan minister, New York, says,

"However much the apostles might have deprecated slavery, he does not feel it his duty to disturb those relations which subsisted between master and servant, by denouncing slavery as a mortal sin."

Rev. E. D. SIMMS (Wesleyan) says,

"Holy Writ unequivocally asserts the right of property in slaves; whether we consult the Jewish polity, or the New Testament and the moral law, it is evident that slavery is not immoral. The slavery which exists in America is founded in right."

Rev. W. WINANS (Wesleyan) says he has become a slaveholder on principle:—

"Presbyterians, Baptists, Methodists, should be slaveholders; yes—he repeated it boldly—there should be members, and *deacons*, and *ELDERS*, and *BISHOPS*, too, who were slaveholders."

Rev. J. H. THORNWELL (Wesleyan) says,

"Slavery is no evil, and is consistent with the principles of revealed religion; all opposition to it arises from fiendish fanaticism."

Rev. GEORGE W. LANGHORNE (Wesleyan) writes,

"That he would as soon be found in the ranks of banditti, as numbered with the slavery abolitionists."

Rev. J. C. POSTELL (Wesleyan) argues that

"Slavery, so far from being a moral evil, is a merciful visitation, and subsists by Divine appointment."

* The author disapproves of the prefix "Rev.," especially when applied to defenders of slavery, but has adopted it in the following pages, for the sake of brevity and perspicuity.

The same reverend gentleman, in a letter to *Zion's Watchman*, subscribes himself,

"The friend of the Bible, and the opposer of abolitionists."

Rev. Mr. CROWDER (Wesleyan), of Virginia, says,

"Slavery was not only countenanced, permitted, and regulated by the Bible, but it was positively instituted by God himself; he, in so many words, enjoined it."

Rev. LUCIUS BOLLES, D.D. (Baptist), says,

"There is a pleasing degree of union among the multiplying thousands of Baptists throughout the south; both ministers and people are generally slaveholders.

In the memorial, addressed by the Charleston Baptist Association to the legislature of South Carolina, the following remarks occur:—

"The Divine Author of our holy religion found slavery a part of the existing institutions of society, with which, if not sinful, it was not his design to intermeddle, but to leave them entirely to the control of men. The question of slavery is purely one of political economy; whether the operatives of a country shall be bought and sold, and themselves become property, as in this State; or whether they shall be hirelings, and their labour only become property, as in other States. The right of a master to dispose of the time of his slaves has been distinctly recognized by the Creator of all things, who is surely at liberty to invest the right of property over any object in whomsoever he pleases."

The Georgia Methodist Conference asserts that

"Slavery, as it exists in the United States, is not a moral evil."

Dr. GARDINER SPRING (Presbyterian) says,

"If by one prayer, I could liberate every slave in the world, I would not offer it."

Rev. Dr. PARKER (Presbyterian) says,

"Abolition might be pronounced a sin as well as slavery."

The late Rev. Dr. RICE said,

"He was fully convinced that slavery was the greatest evil in the world, except whisky."

Speaking of the abolition movement, Rev. Dr. PLUMMER (Presbyterian) says,

"Let the character of the abolitionist be what it may in the sight of the Judge of all the earth, it is my belief that the movement is the most meddlesome, impudent, reckless, fierce, and wicked excitement I ever saw."

Rev. T. WITHERSPOON (Presbyterian) says,

"I draw my warrant from the Old and New Testament to hold the slave in bondage. I go to the Bible for all my warrantries in moral matters. Lynch law is one of the most wholesome and salutary remedies for the malady of the abolitionists, and if they dare to venture across the Potomac, I cannot promise that their fate will be less than Haman's."

Rev. R. ANDERSON says,

"If there be any stray goat of a minister among you, tainted with the bloodhound principles of abolitionism, let him be ferreted out, silenced, excommunicated, and left to the public to dispose of him in other respects."

The Right Rev. Bishop HOPKINS, of Vermont, asks,

"What effect had the Bible in doing away with slavery? *None whatever.*"

Bishop BOWEN, of Charleston, denounces the abolition movement as

"Malignant philanthropy."

Rev. W. ROGERS says,

"If resistance to the carrying out the Fugitive Slave Law should lead the magistracy to call the citizens to arms, their duty was to obey; and if ordered to take human life, in the name of God to take it."

Rev. ORWILLE DEWEY, a distinguished Unitarian Divine, declares

"That he would send his own brother or child into slavery, if needed, to preserve the union between the free and slaveholding states."

W. S. SEABROOKE, of South Carolina, says,

"In the judgment of my fellow-citizens, slavery is not inconsistent with the laws of nature and of God. The Bible informs us that it was established and sanctioned by Divine authority, even among the elect of heaven."

EDWARD BROWN, of the same place, says,

" Slavery has been the step-ladder by which civilized countries have passed from barbarism to civilization. It appears, indeed, to be the only state capable of bringing the love of independence and ease, inherent in man, to the discipline necessary to the supply of food, raiment, and shelter necessary to his physical wants."

The *Charleston Courier* says,

" We confidently pronounce that he must wilfully shut his eyes against the broad and palpable light of truth, who will not acknowledge that the Old Testament conclusively shows that slavery was not only not condemned, but received the *express sanction* of the God of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Jacob."

The Episcopalian Dr. DUER says,

" We deny that it is a crime to retain in slavery those ignorant and helpless beings who have been cast upon American protection, as well as thrown into American power, by no act of their own."

Professor WHEDON (Methodist) says,

" There were Christian or believing slaveholders in the primitive Christian church, who were brethren, faithful and well-beloved, partakers of the gospel benefit."

Governor MACDUFFIE says,

" God forbid that my descendants, in the remotest generations, should live in any other than a community having the institution of domestic slavery."

The editor of the *Washington Telegraph* says,

" As a man, a Christian, and a citizen, we believe that slavery is right; that the condition of the slaves, as it now exists in the slaveholding states, is the best existing organization of civil society."

Rev. JAMES SMYLIE, A.M., a Presbyterian minister in Mississippi, says, in a pamphlet he has recently published in favour of American slavery,

" If slavery be a sin, and if advertising and apprehending slaves, with a view to restore them to their masters, is a direct violation of the Divine law; and if the buying, selling, or holding a slave for the sake of gain is a heinous sin and scandal, then, verily, three-fourths of all the Episcopalians, Methodists, Baptists, and Presbyterians, in eleven states of the Union, are of the devil."

Rev. JAMES SMYLINE and his Presbyteries further declare,
 " That the right to buy, sell, and hold men, for purposes of gain, was
 given by express permission of God."

And again,

" That the laws which forbid the education of the slave are right;
 and meet the approbation of the reflecting part of the community."

Rev. G. W. FREEMAN (Episcopalian) says, in a sermon,
 Nov. 1836,

" No man or set of men, in our day, are entitled to pronounce it
 wrong : and we may add that *slavery*, as it exists at the present day, is
 agreeable to the order of *Divine Providence*."

Rev. Dr. FURMAN (Baptist), in an exposition of the views
 of the Baptists, addressed to the Governor of South Caro-
 lina, in 1833, says,

" The right of holding slaves is clearly established in the Holy Scrip-
 tures, both by precept and example."

Several Methodist ministers, in reply to an appeal of
 certain Methodist abolitionists, issued a counter appeal,
 March 27, 1837, in which they say,

"The general rule of Christianity not only *permits*, but in supposable
 cases *enjoins*, a continuance of the master's authority." "The New
 Testament enjoins obedience upon the slave as an obligation *due to a*
present rightful authority.—Signed by *Willbur Fisk, John Lindsley,*
B. Otheman, H. S. Ramsdell, E. T. Taylor, Jacob Sanborn, H. H.
White."

Rev. Dr. DALCHO, of South Carolina (Episcopalian) says,
 " Slavery is not forbidden in the Divine law, so it is left to our own
 judgment whether we hold slaves or no."

Professor HODGE, of Princeton (N. J.), Theological
 Seminary (Presbyterian), in April, 1836, published an
 article in the *Biblical Repertory*, which contains the
 following:—

" At the time of the advent of Jesus Christ, *slavery* in its worst forms
 prevailed over the world. The Saviour found it around him in Judea,
 the apostles met with it in Asia, Greece, and Italy. How did they
 treat it? Not by the denunciation of *slaveholding* as necessarily *sinful*.

The assumption that slaveholding is, in itself, a crime, is not only an error, but it is an error fraught with evil consequences."

The *Quarterly Christian Spectator*, New Haven, (Ct.), Congregational, in 1838, says,

"The Bible contains no explicit prohibition of slavery; it recognizes, both in the Old Testament and in the New, such a constitution of society, and it *lends its authority to enforce* the mutual obligations resulting from that constitution."

Thus do the ministers and leaders of the people in the United States, advocate the horrid system of slaveholding; openly asserting that it is not only compatible with Christianity, but quoting the inspired page for its support, declaring it to be a Divine institution, sanctioned and even enjoined by the Holy Scriptures; and to which it is the duty of its victims to submit without a complaint.

Let us for a moment consider what slavery really is, and then look at its results. An American writer gives it the following definition:—

"ENSLAVING MEN IS REDUCING THEM TO ARTICLES OF PROPERTY—making free agents chattels—converting *persons* into *things*. A slave is one held in this condition: in law, 'he owns nothing, and can acquire nothing.' His right to himself is abrogated. If he say *my* hands, *my* body, *my* mind, *MY self*, they are figures of speech. To use *himself* for his own good is a *crime*. To keep what he earns is *stealing*. To take his body into his own keeping is *insurrection*. In a word, the profit of his master is made the *END* of his being, and he a mere means to that end—a mere means to an end into which his interests do not enter, of which they constitute no portion.

"MAN sunk to a thing! the intrinsic element, the principle of slavery; —MEN bartered, leased, mortgaged, bequeathed, invoiced, shipped in cargoes, stored as goods, taken on executions, and knocked off at public outcry! Their *rights*, another's conveniences; their *interests*, wares on sale; their personal, inalienable ownership, a serviceable article or a plaything; their deathless nature, conscience, social affections, sympathies, hopes—marketable commodities!

"This is slavery. The eternal distinction between a person and a thing trampled under foot—the crowning distinction of all others—alike the source, the test, and the measure of their value; the rational immortal principle, consecrated by God to universal homage in a baptism of glory and honour, by the gift of his Son, his Spirit, his Word, his presence, providence, and power; his shield, and staff, and sheltering wing; his

opening heavens, and angels ministering; and a great voice in heaven proclaiming eternal sanctions, and confirming the Word with signs following.”—*Weld.*

And now what are the *practical results* of slavery? What are the *fruits* of this peculiar institution which the ministers of America represent as reposing on the foundations of apostles and patriarchs, making the Bible its charter, the Founder of Christianity its chief corner-stone?

Let the three following statements answer this question:—

In 1836, the Presbyterian synod of Kentucky said to the world:

“Brothers and sisters, parents and children, husbands and wives, are torn asunder, and permitted to see each other no more. These acts are daily occurring in the midst of us. There is not a neighbourhood where these heart-rending scenes are not displayed. There is not a village or road which does not behold the sad procession of manacled outcasts, whose chains and mournful countenances tell that they are exiled by force from all that their hearts held dear.”—*Theodore Parker’s Letters.*

The synod of South Carolina and Georgia said in 1834:

“The negroes are destitute of the gospel, and *ever will be*, under the present state of things.”—“The coloured population may justly be considered the *heathen* of this Christian country, and *will bear comparison with heathen in any country in the world.*”—*Report*, in *Charleston Observer.*

“There are (within the bounds of our Synod) at least *one hundred thousand slaves*, speaking the same language as ourselves, who *never heard of the plan of salvation by a Redeemer.*”—*Charleston Observer.*

We have shown what slavery is, we have pointed out its results. Yet this is what American ministers assert, “is established by Divine authority”—is “according to the word of God;” that so far from being a moral evil, “it is a merciful visitation, and subsists by Divine appointment,” being “positively instituted by God himself;” that “the laws which forbid the education of the slave are right, and meet the approbation of the reflecting part of the community.”

Further, that all opposition to this system is a “malignant philanthropy,” arising from fiendish fanaticism.

Let our holy religion be no longer maligned by its professed ministers yielding a base subserviency to the slave power, wickedly defending and aiding in the support of this inhuman system of cruelty and oppression, so contrary to the blessed precepts of Christianity. We would ask, in the words of an American writer, “If this system and sum of abominations is to be tolerated in the church, what description of practices, what crimes should be excluded from her pale, and debarred from her communion? Is it not theft? Is it not robbery? Is it not cruelty? Is it not murder? Is it not man-stealing? Is it not extortion? Is it not adultery? Is it not bloody persecution? Is it not using a neighbour’s service without wages, and giving him nought for his work? Is it not violence? Is it not fraud? Is it not despising the poor? Is it not taking away the key of knowledge? Is it not proscribing Bibles, and forbidding free religious worship? Is it not upholding, abetting, and sustaining all these combined?”

If these things be sustained by the church, what must become of the latter? Will not the salt lose its savour? And what will it then be good for but to be cast out and trodden under foot of men? How long shall infidelity be armed with the most powerful of all weapons against the Bible and Christianity, against the ministry and the church? How natural is the inquiry,

— “Just God, and holy!
Is that church, which lends
Strength to the spoiler, Thine?”

The reader is invited to a perusal of the opinions and sentiments contained in the following pages. The authori-

ties adduced will enable him to judge how far religion is responsible for the toleration of slavery. An alphabetical list of names has been added for more easy reference. The mention of any writer or work, does not necessarily imply an entire approbation of the author or his sentiments. Correct views on this one subject, entitle him to a place here ; and it is interesting to find writers differing on other points, agreeing so clearly upon this, that *slavery is unjustifiable.*

Instead of Christianity sustaining slavery, let us pray that henceforth the most potent of all social influences—the prevailing religion of America—may be arrayed against this stupendous system of inhumanity and wrong, and then its downfall will be speedy and sure. May God hasten the arrival of that blessed day.

LEEDS, 1853.

W. A.

A

'CLOUD OF WITNESSES'

AGAINST

SLAVERY AND OPPRESSION.

“A CLOUD OF WITNESSES,”

IN ALL AGES,

AGAINST SLAVERY AND OPPRESSION.

“WHATSOEVER ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so unto them.”—*Jesus Christ*.

God “hath sent me to bind up the broken-hearted, *to proclaim liberty to the captives*”—*Jesus Christ*.

“Where the Spirit of the Lord is, *there is liberty*”—*St. Paul*, in 2 Cor. iii. 17.

“Is not this the fast that I have chosen? to loose the bands of wickedness, *to undo the heavy burdens, and to let the oppressed go free, and that ye break every yoke*”—*Isaiah*, lviii. 6.

“He that stealeth a man, and selleth him, or if he be found in his hand, he shall surely be put to death.”—*Exodus*, xxi. 16.

“A man loses half his manhood by slavery.”—*Homer*, about 900 B.C.

“Whatever is just, is always true law; nor can true law either be originated or abrogated by any written enactments.”—*Cicero*, lived B.C. 107, to B.C. 43.

“To cultivate land by slaves is the worst of follies, for all work is badly done by people in despair.”—*Pliny*, A.D. 23–79.

Of evils similar to slavery Tertullian says—“One cannot argue from Scripture that it condemns such practices, but will it be argued from its silence that it does not condemn them?”—*Tertull. Lib. Cor.*, p. 121.

"Lactantius says, 'that the redeeming of captives enters not less into the obligations of justice and tender charity, which I rank even above the gifts of munificence. The exercise of the latter requires riches, it does not always pretend to the pure sentiment of justice. It is only the just, properly so called, who make it a duty to feed the poor, to redeem prisoners.'—A.D. 250-325.

"Beneficence is exercised towards a relation, towards a friend; is there so much merit in that? but to deliver captives, to assist the widow and the orphan, to succour the sick, to bury the dead to whom their family have not been able to render that office, it is not only following a natural sentiment—it is obeying the law of God—it is offering one's-self as a victim to the Lord, and preparing for one's-self a magnificent reward."

—*Lactantius' Divine Institutions*, p. 587, &c.

"Give for the redeeming of captives this gold that you destine for the buying of animals."—*Ibid.* p. 587, &c.

St. Ambrose orders that, for the redeeming of captives, the priests sell if necessary, even the sacred vases. "Why are so many unfortunate beings subject to slavery, even to death, for want of being redeemed with gold? Men are better worth preserving than metals. What have you to reply? 'Must we deprive the temple of its ornaments?' But the Lord will reply, 'It is not necessary that the sacred things be clothed in gold.'"—St. Ambrose, *Treatise de Officiis*, p. 108.

"You expect from your slave that he be devoted to you, man of a day! Is this slave less a man than you? He came into the world on the same conditions, your equal by his birth, by his death, provided with the same organs, endowed as well as you with a reasoning soul, called to the same hopes, subject to the same laws, as well for the present life as for the time to come; you oblige him to obey you and to be subject to you, and if he happen to forget for one moment the right you have to command him, if he neglect to execute your orders with a rigorous precision—misfortune to him! Imperious master, unpitiable executor of the rights of your domination, you spare neither blows, nor whips, nor privations; you chastise him by the punishment of hunger and thirst, you strip

him, often you load him with chains and shut him up in a dungeon. Miserable man! While you know so well how to maintain your quality of master over a man, you are not willing to recognize the Master and Lord of all men!"—*St. Cyprian, Treatise against Demetrius.*

"Both religion and humanity make it a duty for us to work for the deliverance of the captive. They are sanctuaries of Jesus Christ, who have fallen into the hands of the infidel. It is Jesus Christ himself whom we ought to consider in our captive brothers; it is Him whom we should deliver from captivity—Him who has delivered us from death. We must redeem with a little money him, who has redeemed us with all his blood. Can we, no matter how little humanity we possess, believe that these captives are strangers to any one of us, who altogether form but one family!"—*St. Cyprian, to the Bishops of Numidia.*

"A number of Christians being taken into captivity, eight bishops wrote to St. Cyprian, imploring his assistance for their redemption. He shed many tears on reading these letters, and at his recommendation the clergy and people of Carthage raised a sum amounting to about £781 English—for the redemption of the slaves."—*St. Cyprian.*

"The Northumbrians, according to Malmesbury, sold their own children for slaves, and the pious author of the life of St. Augustine, the apostle of England, reprobating slavery, says these slave-traders of Northumbria 'surpassed in barbarism and ferocity the negroes of this day?'"—*Life of St. Augustine.*

"St. Augustine sometimes melted down part of the sacred vessels to redeem captives, in which he was authorized by the example of St. Ambrose. He reproved one Romulus for the oppression of his poor vassals."—*Ibid., A.D. 550-600.*

"The French and Burgundians laid siege to Arles in 508, and a great number of captives were brought into the city. St. Cesarius furnished them with clothes and victuals, and employed in relieving them the whole treasury of the church. He stripped the pillars and rails of the silver with which they were adorned, and melted down, and gave away the very censers, chalices, and paters, saying, 'Our Lord celebrated his

last supper in mean earthen dishes, not in plate, and we need not scruple to part with his vessels to ransom those whom He has redeemed with His life. I would fain know if those who censure what we do, would not be glad to be ransomed themselves in like manner, were the same misfortune to befall them.'”—*Life of St. Cesarius.*

In 506, St. Remigius wrote to Clovis—“Let the gate of your palace be open to all, that every one may have recourse to you for justice. Employ your great revenues in redeeming slaves.”

“Clovis sent a letter to all the bishops in his dominions, in which he allowed them to give liberty to any of the captives he had taken, but desired them to make use of that privilege in favour of persons of whom they had some knowledge.”—*St. Remigius.*

The effects of Christianity were soon discerned in the steps taken for the melioration or abolition of slavery. In 693 it was enacted by Ina, king of the West Saxons, that “if a slave was compelled by his master to work on the Sabbath he should become free, and his master pay a heavy fine.”

In 696, Withred, king of Kent, decreed that “if a master gave freedom to his slave at the altar, his family also should be free.”

Cedwella, a British king, who embraced the Christian religion under the instruction of Bishop Wilfred, presented to his instructor a tract of land, *with the persons and property of its inhabitants*, comprehending eighty-seven families. The bishop gave them their liberty, instructed them in religion, and baptized into the Christian faith 250 slaves.

At a general Synod in 816, it was provided that “at the death of a bishop, every Englishman of his, who had been made a slave in his days, should be set at liberty, and that every prelate, and abbot should set at liberty three slaves, and give them three shillings each.”

In 877, Alfred, the great and good Saxon king of England, ordained that some particular days should be granted to all slaves, to devote them to the society of those they loved, who

employ them in labour for their own benefit. He also decreed that, “if a master forced his slave to work on a festival, he was to pay a heavy fine.”

In 945, it was decreed by king Athelstan, that on certain occasions, “some one should be set at liberty, who, for his crimes, had been condemned to slavery,” and this was done for the mercies of Christ.

The same statute observes, “It is necessary that every master be compassionate and condescending to his servants, in the most indulgent manner that is possible. The slave and the freeman are equally dear to the Lord, who bought them, and bought them all with the same price; and we are all, of necessity, servants of God, and he will judge us in the same manner that we on earth judged them over whom we had judicial power.”

During the Saxon Heptarchy, British youths were sold in Rome as slaves. Gregory, then in a private station, but afterwards bishop of Rome, inquiring to what country they belonged, and being told they were born of idolatrous parents, pitied them, and resolved to go and preach the gospel to their nation, for whose spiritual welfare he felt deeply interested. His duties at home prevented this at the time, but he afterwards sent missionaries to instruct them in the Christian religion.

The Norman Conquest augmented the liberty of the subject. An easy mode of enfranchisement was established, and the sweetest blessing of life becoming the legal property of the bondsman; he was made irreversibly free. Voluntary enfranchisements became frequent, for, as the influence of Christian principles spread, in that proportion men were convinced of the sinfulness of holding their fellow-men in bondage; and the evident advantage of being served by freemen, instead of slaves, was so generally perceived, that interest as well as principles, aided the cause of humanity.

“St. Anselm, in 1102, held a national council in St. Peter’s church, at Westminster, in which it was forbidden to sell men like cattle, which had till then been practised in England.”—*Butler’s Lives.*

In 1102, a canon of council prescribed, “Let no one henceforth presume to carry on that wicked traffic, by which men in England have hitherto been sold like brute animals.”

“It is an established fact in history, that the English were in the habit of selling slaves into Ireland. But, under the influence of Christian principles, the generous Irish, at a great national synod at Armagh, in 1172, not only put an end to the nefarious traffic, but emancipated all the English slaves in the kingdom. Ireland was then afflicted with public calamities, so that the clergy and people began to reproach themselves with the unchristian practice of purchasing and holding in slavery their fellow-men. Although these slaves were fairly paid for, and natives of an island from which the Irish had begun to receive great injuries, it was unanimously resolved in council freely to set them at liberty.”—Mentioned in *Moore's Ireland*, vol. ii., p. 232.

“St. Raymond, of Pennafort, concerted with St. Peter Nolasco the foundation of the Order of Mercy, for the redemption of captives.”—*Life of St. Raymond*, of Pennafort.

“St. John the Almoner (Patriarch) sent two bishops and an abbot to ransom captives.”—*St. John's Life*.

“St. Sulpicius Severus set at liberty several of his slaves, and admitted them and some of his old stewards to familiar intercourse and conversation.”—*St. Sulpicius Severus*.

“St. Elegius, Bishop of Noyan, was particularly zealous to ransom captives. When a slave was to be sold in any neighbouring place he hastened thither, and sometimes ransomed fifty or a hundred at a time, especially Saxons, who were sold in great numbers.”—*Life of St. Elegius*.

“St. Francis Xavier walked through the streets of Goa with a bell in his hand, summoning all masters, for the love of God, to send their children and slaves to catechism ; and such was the effect of his preaching, that restitution was made of unjust gains, and slaves who had been unjustly acquired were set at liberty.”—*Life of St. Francis Xavier*.

“St. Bathildes, Queen of France, forbade Christians to be made slaves, gave great numbers their liberty, and declared all

capable of property. The Franks still retained slaves, with this condition, attached to certain manors or farms, and bound to certain particular kinds of servitude. The kings of the second race often set great numbers free, and were imitated by other lords. Queen Blanche and St. Lewis contributed more than any others to ease the condition of the vassals ; and Lewis Huttin abolished slavery in France, declaring all men free who live in that kingdom, according to the spirit of Christianity, which teaches us to treat all men as our brethren.”—*Butler's Lives.*

“ St. Euphrasia on renouncing the world, writes to her friends : ‘ Set all my slaves at liberty, and discharge my vassals and servants, giving them whatever is their due.’ ”—*Life of St. Euphras.*

“ Genseric, the Arian king of the Vandals, plundered Rome and brought innumerable captives from Italy, Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica, into Africa, whom the Moors and Vandals share among them on the shore, separating, without any regard or compassion, weeping wives from their husbands, and children from their parents. St. Deogratias sold everything, even the gold and silver vessels of the church to redeem as many as possible ; he provided lodgings and beds, and furnished them with all succours, and though in a decrepit old age, visited them that were sick every day and often in the night.”—*Life of St. Deogratias.*

“ St. Raymond Nonatus took the new Order of Mercy for redemption of captives. In the discharge of his office of ransomer, he purchased at Algiers the liberty of a great number of slaves. When all his means were laid out in that charitable way, he voluntarily gave himself up as a ransom for the hostage of others whose situation was hardest, and whose faith seemed exposed to imminent danger. It was a saying of his, ‘ that a man is more precious than the whole world.’ St. Raymond was loaded with chains and iron bolts, and cast into a dungeon where he lay full eight months, till his ransom was brought by some religious men of his order.”—*Butler's Lives.*

“ St. Hilary, to redeem captives, caused the church plate to be sold, not excepting the sacred vessels.”—*Butler's Lives.*

"St. John de Prado being sent by the authority of the Congregation de Propaganda Fide, to preach the faith in the kingdom of Fez and Morocco, discharged himself with so great zeal, that the Mahometans cast him into a dungeon, loaded with chains."—*Pope Pius V.*

"St. Margaret devoted her extensive alms to restore to foreign nations their captives, and was solicitous to ransom those especially who fell into the hands of harsh masters."—*Ibid.*

Louis X. passed a general law, 1315, for the enfranchisement of all serfs belonging to the crown. He there made a positive declaration, that "slavery was contrary to nature, which intended that all men by birth should be free and equal; that since his kingdom was denominated the kingdom of the Franks or Freemen, it appeared just and right the fact should correspond with the name."—Koch's *Revolutions of Europe*, chap. 5, period 4.

Wycliffe, "the morning star of the Reformation," must be included among the promoters of the great and glorious principles of freedom. This great and good man taught princes and the nation at large, "that it was contrary to the principles of the Christian religion that any one should be a slave."—1324–1384.

Cardinal Francis Ximines, who held the reins of the Spanish Government, after the death of Ferdinand V., till Charles V. came to the throne, judged it unlawful to consign innocent people to slavery. Ximines, during the life of Ferdinand, and also whilst he acted as regent, during Charles' minority, used his influence in opposing the progress of slavery.—1427–1517.

Pope Leo X. declared that "not the Christian religion only, but nature herself, cries out against the state of slavery."—Vide Bancroft's *History of the United States*, vol. i., p. 172. 1475–1521.

¹ Pope Paul III., in two separate briefs, imprecated a curse on the Europeans who should enslave Indians or any other class of men. 1537. (See the brief in *Remusal, Hist. de Chiappa*, book 3, chap. 16.)

Pope Zachary, on certain Venetian merchants having bought

at Rome many slaves, to sell to the Moors in Africa, promptly forbade such an iniquitous traffic, and, paying the merchants their price, gave these slaves their liberty.—Vide Butler's *Life of Zachary*.

Pope Pius II., even earlier, in 1402, when Portuguese dominion was extended into Guinea, wrote letters to the Portuguese bishop proceeding thither, gravely animadverting on those Christians who carried away people into slavery.

“ In the reign of Pope Pius V., fifteen thousand slaves that were found chained on board the galleys of the Turkish fleet were set at liberty.”—*Pope Pius V.*

Pius VII. concerted with the European government the means of suppressing this odious trade.

The Dominicans, a religious sect of the Romish Church, that settled in South America early in the sixteenth century, witnessing the cruel treatment of the slaves, considered slavery as utterly repugnant to the principles of the gospel, and recommended its abolition.

“ St. Thomas of Jesus, a devout man, in 1532, caused the money that was sent him for his own use by his sister, the Countess of Linares, and by kings Henry and Philip II., to be employed in ransoming slaves, and chose to stay, though no longer a prisoner, at the Sagena, or prison, where were detained above two thousand Christian slaves, of different nations, whom he never ceased to comfort and assist with heavenly exhortations.”—*Life of St. Augustin.*

The importation of slaves from Africa was first practised by the English, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. But she seems to have had strong misgivings as to the nature of this traffic, and the evils to which it might lead ; for though it was represented by those interested in the trade, that the Africans were taken away voluntarily, and transported to the Spanish colonies as labourers, and not as slaves, she expressed her concern lest any should be carried off without their own free consent, in which case she declared “ *it would be detestable, and call down the vengeance of Heaven upon the undertakers.*”

Charles V., emperor of Germany, and king of Spain, in the

early part of his reign, inadvertently countenanced the slave trade; but he lived long enough to repent of what he had inconsiderately done, and did his utmost to revoke it. This great prince had not been aware of the dreadful evils connected with the horrible traffic, nor had he duly considered the crying injustice of permitting it. On more mature consideration, he made a code of laws for the better protection of the unfortunate natives remaining in his foreign dominions, and stopped the progress of African slavery, by an order that all slaves in his West India possessions should be made free. This order was executed in 1542.

The first English writer who expressly took up the African's cause, was Morgan Godwyn, a clergyman of the Church of England. He wrote a treatise entitled *The Negroe's and Indian's Advocate*, which he dedicated to the archbishop of Canterbury.—1550–1600.

“When any Act of Parliament is *against common rights*, or reason, or repugnant, or impossible to be performed, the common law will control it, and adjudge such acts to be void.”—*Lord Chief Justice Coke*, 1549–1634.

“Of law no less can be acknowledged than that her seat is the bosom of God, her voice the harmony of the world. All things in heaven and earth do her homage; *the least is feeling her care*, and the greatest is not exempt from her power.”—*Rer. Rich. Hooker*, A.D. 1553–1600.

“To steal a man is the highest kind of theft. In other instances we only steal human property; but when we steal or retain a man in slavery, we seize those who, in common with ourselves, are constituted, by the original grant, lords of the earth.”—*Hugo Grotius*, 1583–1645.

Bishop Saunderson, and many others, bore a strong testimony against trading in the persons of men. Their attention was not particularly directed to negro-slavery, a knowledge of its enormities being kept as closely as possible by those interested in its continuance.—1587–1663.

“In 1610, the pious Father Claver was sent to preach the faith to the infidels at Carthage and the neighbouring country

in Africa. At the first sight of the poor negro slaves he was moved with the strongest sentiments of compassion, tenderness, and zeal, which never forsook him ; and it was his constant study to afford them all the temporal comfort in his power. The title in which he gloried was that of the slave of slaves.”

—*Hist. de Eccles. de Berrault.*

“ O execrable man, so to aspire
 Above his brethren, to himself assuming
 Authority usurp’d from God, not given ;
 —————— Man over men
 He made not lord, such title to himself
 Reserving.”—*Milton.*—1608–1674.

“ O Freedom ! first delight of human kind.—*Dryden.*

George Fox, the founder of the Society of Friends, left his testimony against trafficking in human beings and degrading them by slavery. In 1671, he visited Barbadoes, and appealed to his friends in behalf of the negroes. “ Consider,” says he, “ if you were in the same condition as the poor Africans are, who came strangers among you, and who were sold to you as slaves. If this should be the hard condition of you or yours, you would think it a hard measure, yea, and a very great bondage and cruelty.”

He advised his friends not only to deal mildly and gently with their negroes, and avoid all cruelty, but also, after a certain period, to make them free.—1624–1690.

As early as 1688, the inconsistency of buying, selling, and holding men in slavery, with the principles of the Christian religion, was urged by William Penn, 1644–1718.

“ The reasonableness of law is the soul of law.”—*Rev. Benjamin Jenks,* 1646–1724.

“ Slave-traders are pirates ; and those that buy men as beasts, for their own convenience, are *demons* rather than *Christians.*”
 —*Rev. R. Baxter* (the celebrated Nonconformist divine), 1615–1691.

Thomas Tryon, in the latter part of an essay addressed to planters, displays, in a striking manner, the inconsistency, both

of the commerce and state of slavery, with reason, humanity, justice, and religion.—About 1650.

Thomas Southern, a dramatic writer, published a celebrated tragedy, called *Oronooko*, or *The Royal Slave*, which excited considerable inquiry and interest in the condition of slaves, as it consisted not of fiction, but real transactions in the slave colonies.—1659-1746.

William Edmundson, an Irish Quaker, when in Barbadoes, about the year 1671, boldly declared to the governor his sentiments on the inhuman and unchristian manner in which the negroes were treated, and the duty of imparting to them moral and religious instruction.

Sir Richard Steele, an essayist and dramatic writer, one of the coadjutors of Addison in the *Spectator* and other classical works, wrote an affecting story, called *Inkle and Yarico*, designed to hold up the slave-trade to just abhorrence.—1671-1729.

In 1688, some emigrant Quakers from Germany, who settled in Pennsylvania, urged upon their fellow-members the inconsistency with Christianity of buying, selling, and holding men in slavery. The interest in this subject increased among the Quakers in America; the holding or dealing in slaves was early prohibited amongst them, and they became, eventually, great promoters of the antislavery movement in that country.

“Nothing but the stupifying influence of custom could reconcile men who professed the Christian religion to endure without abhorrence and indignation, a computation about the value of their fellow-men and their liberty.”—*Essay on Moral Philosophy*. *Francis Hutcheson*, 1694-1747.

“Slavery is not good in itself: it is neither useful to the master nor to the slave, because the slave can do nothing from virtuous motives; nor to the master, because he contracts amongst his slaves all sorts of bad habits—he becomes haughty, passionate, obdurate, vindictive, voluptuous, and cruel.” On the sentiment that negroes are an inferior race, he says:—“It is impossible to allow the negroes to be men, because, if we allow them to be men, it will begin to be believed that *we are not*

Christians." "Even the earth itself, which teems profusion under the cultivating hand of the free labourer, shrinks into barrenness from the contaminating sweat of a slave."—*Baron Montesquieu* (a French nobleman, author of several moral and political works), 1689–1755.

One of our most celebrated poets, in his "Essay on Man," when arguing on the present happiness arising to man from the hope of a future state, takes occasion to excite compassion on behalf of the poor African, while he exposes the avarice and cruelty of his master :—

" Lo ! the poor Indian, whose untutor'd mind
Sees God in clouds, or hears Him in the wind,
His soul proud science never taught to stray
Far as the solar walk or milky way ;
Yet simple Nature to his hope has given,
Beyond the cloud-capt hills, an humbler heaven—
Some safer world, in depth of wood embraced,
Some happier island in the watery waste—
Where slaves once more their native land behold,
No fiends torment, no *Christians* thirst for gold."

Alexander Pope, 1688–1744.

" Every human creature has a right to liberty, which cannot with justice be taken from him, unless he forfeits it by some crime."—*Lord Chesterfield, 1694–1773.*

" Slavery, which bids that God, who is the God and Father of the Gentiles unconverted to Christianity, most bold and daring defiance, and spurns at all principles both of natural and revealed religion."—*James Foster, 1697–1752.*

Slavery.—A warning to the oppressors of Africans of a day of retribution. Public Spirit, personified, thus speaks :—

" Led, by my specious name, as tyrants rise,
And cry, while they enslave, they civilise.
Know, Liberty and I are still the same,
Congenial—ever mingling flame with flame.
Why must I Afric's sable children see
Vended for slaves, though born by nature free ?
The nameless tortures cruel minds invent,
Those to subject, whom Nature equal meant ?

If these you dare (although unjust success
 Empowers you now, unpunished, to oppress).
 Revolving empire you and yours may doom—
 (Rome all subdued, but Vandals vanquished Rome)—
 Yes, empire may revolt—give them the day;
 And yoke may yoke, and blood may blood repay."

Richard Savage, 1698–1743.

Pope Urban VIII. issued a bull expressly condemnatory of the slave-trade, east or west, dated 1639, and addressed to the Apostolic Chamber in Portugal.

"The owners of the slave are *licensed robbers*, and not the just proprietors of what they claim." "It is as really wicked to rob a man of his liberty, as to rob him of his life; and it is much more wicked than to rob him of his property. To hold a man in a state of slavery, is to be every day guilty of robbing him of his liberty, or of man-stealing."—*Rev. Jonathan Edwards, 1703–1758.*

"Slavery is of such a nature, that it is incapable of being introduced on any reasons moral or political, but only by positive law. It is so odious, that nothing can be suffered to support it but positive law."—Judgment in the great case of the slave Somersett.—*Lord Mansfield, 1705–1793.*

Bishop Burgess treats with merited contempt the idea of the slave's uncompensated services being called obedience to his master's orders. The worthy prelate justly revolts at the violation thus sought to be inflicted on the plain meaning of Scripture, and he indignantly exclaims, "'Reciprocal duties!' 'Reciprocal duties!' To have an adequate sense of the propriety of these terms, we must forget the humane provisions of the Hebrew law, as well as the liberal indulgence of Roman slavery, and think only of American slavery!—of *unlimited, uncompensated, brutal* slavery, and then judge what reciprocity there can be between *absolute authority and absolute subjection*; and how the Divine rule of Christian charity can be said to enforce the reciprocal duties of the American slave and his master. *Reciprocity is inconsistent with every degree of real slavery. Slavery cannot be called one of the species of civil subordination. A slave is a nonentity in civil society. LAW AND SLAVERY ARE CONTRADICTORY TERMS.*"—*Bishop Burgess.*

John Dyer the poet, in his principal poem, called *The Fleece*, expressed his sorrow on account of the barbarous slave-trade, and his anticipation of a day of retributive justice on the perpetrators of so great an evil.—1700-1758.

Malachi Postlethwaite, a commercial writer, in a work entitled *A Universal Dictionary of Trade and Commerce*, addresses a number of pointed queries on the slave-trade, tending to prove its impolicy, as well as injustice and inhumanity.—1707-1767.

The author of that truly beautiful descriptive poem, *The Seasons*, makes a touching allusion to the well-known fact of sharks following slave-ships, from an instinctive knowledge of the frequent prey thence afforded them :—

“ Increasing still the sorrows of those storms,
 His jaws terrific arm’d with threefold fate,
 Here dwells the direful shark. Lur’d by the scent
 Of steaming crowds, of rank disease and death,
 Behold ! he rushing cuts the briny flood,
 Swift as the gale can bear the ship along,
 And from the partners of that cruel trade,
 Which spoils unhappy Guinea of her sons,
 Demands his share of prey, demands themselves.
 The stormy fates descend ; one death involves
 Tyrants and slaves : when straight their mangled limbs
 Crashing at once, he dyes the purple seas
 With gore, and riots in the vengeful meal.”

James Thomson, 1700-1748.

In the early part of the eighteenth century, Judge Sewell of New England, a Presbyterian, addressed a memorial to the legislature, in which, as a lawyer and a Christian, he pleaded the cause of the slave.

William Burling, a Quaker of Long Island, contemporary with Judge Sewell, distinguished himself as an advocate of freedom, and frequently bearing testimony against its unlawfulness in the Yearly Meeting he belonged to. He wrote several tracts on the subject, one of the first published in 1718.

In 1729, Ralph Sandiford, a Quaker merchant of Philadelphia, and a zealous advocate of freedom, published a work against slavery, and circulated it gratuitously. It was a well-written valuable appeal on behalf of the negro.

About the year 1739, the Rev. George Whitfield wrote and published a letter in America, in which “the inhuman usage, practised by cruel, rash masters,” was exposed and condemned. He remained a firm friend to the African, and interested many of his followers in their behalf.

Whitfield questions, “Whether it could be lawful for *Christians* to buy slaves, and thereby encourage the nations to maintain perpetual war with each other, in order to furnish them, and specially remonstrating against the sinfulness of treating them as if they were mere brutes, or even worse, and enjoying all the conveniences and luxuries of life; while the slaves, by whose indefatigable labour they were procured, were left in destitution, and exposed to hardship and cruelty.”—From a letter to America, by *Rev. George Whitfield*, 1714–1770.

Anthony Benezet, a French Quaker and great philanthropist, was a strenuous advocate for the slave in various ways. He settled in Philadelphia, and was most zealous and vigilant; he never lost an opportunity of pleading the cause of the oppressed African. He attacked the slave-trade, and endeavoured to spread a knowledge and hatred of the traffic throughout the whole world. In a letter to Queen Charlotte, Benezet remarks, “Great Britain is deeply concerned in this flagrant violation of the common rights of mankind, and even its national authority is exerted in support of the African slave-trade. There is much reason to apprehend that this has been, and, as long as the evil exists, will continue to be, an occasion of drawing down the Divine displeasure on the nation and its dependencies.”

Benezet in another place designates slavery “a mighty infringement of every human and sacred right.”—1713–1784.

“We are told that men may be born slaves, by being the children of slaves. If neither captivity nor contract can, by the plain law of nature and reason, reduce the parent to a state of slavery, much less can they reduce the offspring.” “The law therefore, that supports slavery, must necessarily be condemned as cruel; for every feeling of human nature advocates liberty. Slavery is introduced through human wickedness; but God advocates liberty by the nature he has given to man. In popular language, we speak of *good* laws and *bad* laws. The Bible, which generally uses the popular language, speaks of

‘mischief framed by a law.’ It remains true, strictly and philosophically speaking, there is no *law* contrary to equity.”—*Sir Wm. Blackstone*, Judge of the King’s Bench, 1723–1780.

“No man is, by nature, the property of another. The rights of nature must be some way forfeited, before they can be justly taken away.”—*Dr. Samuel Johnson*, 1709–1784.

In 1737, Benjamin Lay, who resided near Philadelphia, published a *Treatise on Slave Keeping*, which he distributed, and awakened, by his warm and earnest manner, the attention of many to the cause of the negro.

“Gracious God ! to talk of men as of herds of cattle, of property in rational creatures endowed with all our faculties, possessing all our qualities but that of colour, our brethren both by nature and by grace, shocks all the feelings of humanity, and the dictates of common sense ! Nothing is more certain in itself and apparent to all, that the infamous traffic in slaves directly infringes both Divine and human law. Nature created man free, and grace invites him to assert his freedom.”—*Dr. Warburton*, Bishop of Gloucester.

“It is a debt we owe the purity of our religion, to show that it is at variance with that law which warrants slavery.”—*Patrick Henry*, in a letter to Benezet.

“Is it not amazing, that at a time when the rights of humanity are defined with precision, in a country above all others fond of liberty, that in such an age, and in such a country, we find men, professing a religion the most humane and gentle, adopting a principle as repugnant to humanity, as it is inconsistent with the Bible, and destructive to liberty ? Believe me, I shall honour the Quakers for their noble efforts to abolish slavery.”—Letter of *Patrick Henry*, of Virginia, to Robert Pleasants, of the Society of Friends.

“That horrid traffic of selling negroes.”—*Horace Walpole*, 1750.

The poet Shenstone wrote one of his elegies expressly to discountenance the slave-trade, of which the following is an extract. He supposes the negro torn from his native shore, and describes him as bleeding and weeping his sum of life away :—

“ On the wild heath, in mournful guise he stood,
 Ere the shrill boatswain gave the hateful sign ;
 He dropt a tear, unseen, into the flood—
 He stole one secret moment to repine.

“ ‘ Why am I ravished from my native strand ?
 What savage race protects this impious gain ?
 Shall foreign plagues infest this teeming land,
 And more than sea-born monsters plough the main ?

“ ‘ Here the dire locusts’ horrid swarms prevail,
 Here the blue asps with livid poison swell,
 Here the dry dyspa writhes his sinuous mail—
 Can we not here secure from envy dwell ?

“ ‘ When the grim lion urged his cruel chase,
 When the grim panther sought his midnight prey,
 What fate reserved me for this *Christian race*—
 O ! race more polished, more severe than they ! ’ ”

William Shenstone, 1714-1763.

Dr. Adam Smith, author of several valuable and popular moral and political works, was distinguished as the negro’s advocate. In his *Theory of Moral Sentiments*, he held up the negroes in an honourable, and their tyrants in a degrading light.

In 1776, Adam Smith published his most noted work, *The Wealth of Nations*, in which he clearly proved that the employing of slaves was no less impolitic than inhuman.

The Rev. Dr. Robertson, an eminent historian, laid open many facts which tended much to condemn the practice of bringing men into bondage. In his principal works, a *History of America*, and *History of Charles V.*, he takes every opportunity of proving that the trade was “no less repugnant to the feelings of humanity, than to the principles of religion.” In the latter work, he most clearly demonstrates the influence of Christianity, in gradually extirpating slavery from the west of Europe in the 12th century, and thence argues the duty of modern Christians to put a stop to the cruel trade.—1721-1791.

Slavery “is utterly inconsistent with sound policy, justice, reason, humanity, and religion.”—History of European Settlements in the West Indies. *Abbé Raynal, 1743-1796.*

“ He who supports the system of slavery, is the enemy of

the whole human race. He divides into two societies of legal assassins, the oppressors and the oppressed. It is the same thing as proclaiming to the world, if you will preserve your own life, instantly take away mine, for I want to have yours."

—*Abbé Raynal.*

Edmund Burke, an eminent politician, in a work on European settlements, complained that the negroes endured a slavery more complete and intolerable than had been known in any time, or in any part of the world; and urged by every motive of humanity, morality, and religion, that they should experience a different treatment.

"A slave, though living," writes Burke, "is dead to all voluntary agency; though moving amongst creatures in an erect shape and semblance of a human being, he is as a nullity as to a man."

"Slavery is a state so improper, so degrading, and so ruinous to the feelings and capacities of human nature, that it ought not to be suffered to exist."

"He who makes a happy slave, makes a degraded man."—*Edmund Burke, M.P.—1730-1797.*

"The hardship and inconvenience suffered by the negroes, during the (middle) passage, are scarcely to be enumerated. *They are far more violently affected by sea-sickness than the European.* It frequently terminates in *death*, especially among the women. The exclusion of air is among the most intolerable. In stormy, wet weather, when the gratings were covered, fluxes and fevers, among the negroes, increased. The heat below was not the only thing that rendered their situation miserable; the deck or floor of their room was so covered with blood and mucus, which had proceeded from them in consequence of the fluxes, that it resembled a slaughter-house. *It is not in the power of human imagination to picture to itself a situation more dreadful or disgusting.*"—*W. Falconbridge*, several years Surgeon of a British slave-ship. From his evidence before a Committee of the House of Commons, 1790.

"It has pleased God to cover some men with white skins, and others with black; but there is neither merit nor demerit in complexion. The white man, notwithstanding the barbarity of custom and prejudice, can have no right, by virtue of his

colour, to enslave and tyrannise over the black man; for whether a man be white or black, such he is of God's appointment, and, abstractedly considered, is neither a subject of pride, nor an object of contempt.”—*Dr. Primatt* (about 1750).

“*I will never concur in upholding domestic slavery.* It is a nefarious institution; it is the curse of heaven on the state where it prevails.”—*Oliver Ellsworth*, at the Convention for forming the American Government.

“We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created free and equal; they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.”—*Declaration of the Independence of the United States of America*, 1776.

“I wish the time may soon come when all our inhabitants, of every colour and denomination, shall be free, and equal partakers of our political liberty.”—*John Jay*, United States, 1785.

In 1787, Dr. Franklin, the celebrated philosopher, politician, and moralist, who had long warmly espoused the cause of the injured Africans, was appointed President of the Pennsylvania Society for promoting the abolition of slavery, &c.

“They (the Pennsylvania society) earnestly entreat your serious attention to the subject of slavery; that you will be pleased to countenance the restoration of liberty to those unhappy men, who alone, in this land of freemen, are degraded into perpetual bondage; and who, amidst the general joy of surrounding freemen, are groaning in servile subjection; and that you will promote mercy and justice towards this distressed race; and that you will step to the very verge of the power vested in you, for discouraging every species of traffic in the persons of our fellow-men.”—Memorial of the Abolition Society of Pennsylvania, signed and presented to the Congress of the United States, 1789, by *Benjamin Franklin*.

“Slavery is an infringement on all laws—a law having a tendency to preserve slavery would be the grossest sacrilege.”—*Bolivar* (a celebrated General in South America), 1783–1739.

“Your late purchase of an estate, with a view of emancipating the slaves on it, is a generous and noble proof of your

humanity. Would to God a like spirit might diffuse itself generally into the minds of the people of this country.”—*General Washington*, 1786, first President of the United States.

“Slavery is in every instance wrong, unrighteous, and oppressive, a very great and crying sin, there being nothing of the kind equal to it on the face of the earth.”—*Samuel Hopkins*, 1776.

“It will not do thus to talk like philosophers, and act like unrelenting tyrants; to be perpetually sermonizing it, with liberty for our text, and actual oppression for our commentary.”—From a Speech of *William Pinckney*, in the Maryland House of Delegates, 1789.

“African slavery is unjust in its nature, impolitic in its principles, and in its consequences ruinous to the industry and enterprise of these States.”—*Memorial of the Connecticut State Society for the Promotion of Freedom, &c., &c., praying Congress to abolish the Slave Trade*, 1791.

The two sentimental writers, John J. Rousseau and Lawrence Sterne (whose works, in general, are of a very objectionable tendency), took decidedly the part of the oppressed Africans; and, from the pathetic, witty, and sentimental manner in which they alluded to the subject, impressed it on the minds of many who would not have listened to argument, and interested their feelings on behalf of the injured slaves.—1711–1778.

“ ’Tis no uncommon thing for one-half of the world to use the other like brutes, and then endeavour to make them so. I never look westward but I think of the burthens our brothers and sisters are there carrying; and could I ease their shoulders from one ounce of them, I declare I would set out this hour on a pilgrimage to Mecca for their sakes. It casts a shade upon the world, that so great a part of it are, and have been, so long bound in chains of darkness and in chains of misery.”—*Sterne*, 1767.

John Woolman, born in New Jersey, in 1720, whose thoughts had been long and frequently directed to the injustice and cruelty, inseparable from a system of slavery, published a work against it in 1753, and was a diligent labourer for freedom.

“Should we consider,” says Woolman, “the many sorrowful

circumstances attending slavery, we must necessarily conclude that it belongs not to the followers of Christ to be parties to such a trade, on the motives of outward gain."

"Why should it seem right to honest men to make gain by [negroes] more than by others? Others enjoy freedom and receive wages equal to their work. The negroes have made no contract to serve; and many of them appear as likely to make a right use of freedom as other people. How then can an honest man withhold from them that liberty, which is the free gift of the Most High to his rational creatures?"

In 1759, John Woolman associated with himself two coadjutors, John Churchman and Samuel Eastburne, going from place to place, expressly to plead the cause of the negroes.

In 1727, the Quakers in England, in their collective capacity, issued a minute condemnatory of slave-trading, and, in effect, prohibiting their members from being concerned in it. The importing of negroes from their native country is not a commendable or allowable practice, and is therefore censured by this meeting.

The attention of Friends to this subject, and their sense of its enormity, increased, until it became one of deep and general interest among them, and continues to be so. At several subsequent meetings, through a series of years, resolutions were passed to the same effect, but gradually increasing in strength.

In 1754, the Quakers in America issued a powerful appeal against the slave-trade, and those members who refused to desist from it were reproved and expelled from the society.

In 1758, the Quakers in England declared the slave-trade to be in direct violation of the gospel rule, and warned their members carefully to avoid being in any way concerned in reaping the unrighteous profits arising from so iniquitous a practice.

In 1761, the Quakers in England disowned all who should persist in slave dealing, as a practice repugnant to Christianity, and reproachful to a Christian profession.

In 1776, the American Quakers enacted that the owners of slaves, who refused to execute proper legal instruments for giving them their freedom, should be disowned. From year

to year, this society used unremitting endeavours, not only to wipe away from their community the stain of slavery, but to promote the happiness of those restored by them to freedom and of their posterity also.

William Dillwyn, an American Quaker, was a most efficient worker in the cause of freedom. In 1772, he visited Carolina, where he made very particular observations on the cruel treatment of slaves. He returned home with a sense of duty rivetted in his mind, through life, to do everything in his power for their relief.

In 1773, in conjunction with Richard Smith and Daniel Wells, Dillwyn wrote a pamphlet entitled *Brief Considerations on Slavery, and the Expediency of its Abolition*. He became an active promoter of the cause in England at a later period.

Atkins, a surgeon in the navy, published, in 1735, a narrative of a voyage to Guinea, Brazil, and the West Indies, describing the manner of obtaining slaves, and the cruelties practised towards them. This publication caused the real nature of the slave-trade to be better known, and excited, among persons of humanity, a disposition to further inquiry. Atkins fully refuted the too generally received idea, that the condition of the African was improved by transportation into other countries.

In 1750, the Rev. Griffith Hughes, a clergyman in Barbadoes, published the natural history of that island. In his work he exposed the miserable situation of poor Africans, and the waste of life by hard labour and other cruel means. He vindicated their capacities from the charge of inferiority, which their tyrants made a plea in justification of their own wickedness, in depriving them of the rights of men.

“ That all who are concerned in bringing any of the human race into slavery, or in retaining them in it—all who bring off slaves or free men, and keep, sell, or buy them, are man-stealers, guilty of the highest kind of theft, and SINNERS OF THE FIRST RANK.”—*Book of Discipline of the Presbyterian Church in the United States, 1794.*

“ The Conference acknowledges that slavery is contrary to the laws of God, man, and nature, and hurtful to society; con-

trary to the dictates of conscience and pure religion ; and doing what we would not that others should do unto us ; and they pass their disapprobation upon all our friends who keep slaves, and advise their freedom.”—*Discipline of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States in 1780.*

“ No longer shall the United States of America be famed for liberty. Oppression pervades her bowels ; and while they exhibit a fair exterior to other parts of the world, they are nothing more than painted sepulchres, containing within them rottenness and corruption.”—A writer under the signature, OTHELLO, *Baltimore Advertiser*, United States, 1788.

“ Let who will startle. I steadfastly maintain that we must bring them (the negroes) to an equal standing, in point of privileges, with the whites. They must enjoy all the rights belonging to human nature.”—*Diske, Tutor in Dartmouth College, United States, 1795.*

“ Everything that is miserable, horrible, and odious, is comprised in this abominable system. The slavery practised in America is not only abominably unjust and inconsistent, but it is a disgrace to human nature. Perfect liberty and equality with the whites, is this day the inalienable right of every negro in America.”—A writer under the signature, AMYNTO, New York, 1796.

“ Consider the *genius* of your religion ; a religion calculated to inspire universal benevolence, by teaching us that all mankind are our brethren. But how is Christianity disgraced by the practice of trading in the persons of men.”

“ Had I a voice that would reach from pole to pole, I would sound forth the praises of those who first engaged in the excellent work of setting captives free ; I would exert my utmost endeavours to recommend their example ; and say to every slaveholder in the language of my Divine Master, ‘ Go and do thou likewise.’ ”—*Sermon by James Dore, at Maze Pond, Southwark, Nov. 30, 1788.*

“ Agreed, as an Association, thus publicly to express our deepest abhorrence of the slave trade, and to recommend it earnestly to the ministers and members of all our churches, to

unite in promoting, to the utmost of their power, every scheme, that is or may be proposed, to procure the abolition of a traffic so unjust, inhuman, and disgraceful ; the continuance of which tends to counteract and destroy the operation of the benevolent principles and spirit of our common Christianity.”—The elders, ministers, and messengers of the several Baptist churches, met in association at Portsmouth Common, May 14 and 15, 1788.

Pope Benedict XIV. confirmed previous decrees against the slave-trade and slavery by a new bull, addressed to the government authorities of the Brazils, in 1741.

In 1776, D. Hartley, member for Hull, made a motion in the House of Commons, “that the slave-trade was contrary to the laws of God, and the rights of men.”

The above motion was seconded by Sir George Saville.

Dr. Hayter, Bishop of Norwich, preached a sermon before the “Society for the Propagation of the Gospel,” in 1755, in which he bore his testimony against the slave-trade.

A pamphlet was published in 1760, called *Two Dialogues on the Man Trade*, by John Philmore. The name was probably assumed, but the author argued with ability and zeal on behalf of the injured race.

Thomas Jeffery, in 1761, published an account of North America, in which he laid open the miserable condition of the negroes in point of food, clothing, labour, and punishments; and appealed to the feelings of common humanity on their behalf.

The Moravians, although they abstained from verbally urging on masters the duty of liberating their slaves, bore their silent but convincing testimony by invariably liberating all who came into their possession.—About 1780.

Thomas Day, the well-known author of *Sandford and Merton*, published a poem in 1773, entitled *The Dying Negro*, which produced a considerable sensation on behalf of the persecuted race. He afterwards published a letter on negro slavery, originally addressed to a friend in America, with the design of dissuading him from holding property in slaves.

Robbers,” he says, “invade the property, and murderers

the life of human beings ; but he that holds another man in bondage, subjects the whole sum of his existence to oppression, bereaves him of every hope, and is therefore more detestable than robber and assassin combined.”—*Thomas Day*, 1748–1785.

A history of Loango, and other kingdoms in Africa, was brought out in Paris, in 1776, by the Abbé Proyart. This work did ample justice to the moral and intellectual character of the native Africans, and consequently refuted the vile calumnies which had been uttered against them, as being fitted only for slavery.

In 1773, Dr. Benjamin Rush, a Presbyterian of Philadelphia, vindicated the rights of the negro by the publication of a work on slavery ; and another shortly afterwards, being a vindication of the former.

“ Domestic slavery,” he observes, “is repugnant to the principles of Christianity. It prostrates every benevolent and just principle of action in the human heart. It is rebellion against the authority of a common Father. It is a practical denial of the extent and efficacy of the death of a common Saviour. It is a usurpation of the prerogative of the great Sovereign of the Universe, who has solemnly claimed exclusive property in the souls of men.”—*Dr. Benjamin Rush*, Philadelphia, United States, 1745–1813.

Dr. Rush, with James Pemberton, a leading Quaker in Philadelphia, originated a society friendly to the cause of the slave.

Elhanan Winchester, a preacher of the doctrine of universal redemption, distinguished himself as a friend to the anti-slavery cause, both by private interference and public preaching.—About 1780.

Under the patronage of Selina, Countess of Huntingdon, assisted by the liberality of many others, the Rev. Geo. Whitfield founded an institution in Georgia, called the Orphan House, designed for the protection and education of the destitute poor. Whitfield anticipated it would prove useful to the Africans. Soon after his death, however, his successors bought a great number of slaves to extend the rice and indigo plantations belonging to the college, thus involving the institution in the most guilty of all traffics—the slave-trade.

Benezet wrote to the Countess, apprizing her of the fact, pointing out the inconsistency of allowing the managers of her college to encourage the slave-trade. The Countess replied, that such a measure should never have her concurrence, and that she would take care to prevent it. Her name, therefore, deserves a place among the friends of freedom.—About 1780.

Denmark passed a law in 1792, prohibiting the slave-trade to her subjects.

Sweden passed a similar law to commence in 1803.

Samuel Chase, Judge of the Supreme Court, United States, advocated the cause of the slave; and, in 1789, became an officer in the Maryland Abolition Society.

Luther Martin, a member of the Convention that formed the United States Constitution, advocated the cause of the slave, and, in 1789, became an officer in the Maryland Abolition Society.

The Rev. Dr. Stiles, President of Yale College, became the first President of the Connecticut Abolition Society, established in 1790.

Simeon Baldwin, a judge of New Haven, at the same time received the appointment of secretary of the above society.

Amongst the distinguished individuals who joined the anti-slavery ranks, and became efficient officers of abolition societies, may be named the Hon. Uriah Tracy, a Senator from Connecticut; Hon. Zephaniah Swift, Chief Justice of the same state; Hon. Oscar A. Rodney, Attorney-General of the United States; Hon. James A. Bayard, Senator from Delaware; Governor Bloomfield, of New Jersey; Hon. Wm. Rawle, the venerable head of the Philadelphia bar; Dr. Caspar Wistar, of Philadelphia.

David Barclay (grandson of Robert Barclay, the great apologist for the Quakers), warmly pleaded the duty of Christians to free themselves from the sin of enslaving their fellow-men. He was unexpectedly called to prove the sincerity and strength of his principles. He came into possession of an estate in Jamaica, with thirty-two slaves upon it, for a debt, jointly with his brother. These they emancipated, to the

satisfaction of their own minds, the honour of their character, the benefit of the public, and the happiness of the objects of their benevolence, whose conduct, respectability, and comfort, proved an additional reward to their benefactors for the sacrifice they had made of interest to principle.

Such conduct, like consistency in professors of religion, is an argument that infidelity itself cannot withstand ; it lives, moves, acts, and wears down opposition.—1671–1769.

In 1774, John Wesley, the celebrated divine and laborious preacher, founder of the sect of Methodists which bears his name, published a work called *Thoughts on Slavery*. He had been in America, and seen and pitied the hard condition of slaves, which led him thus to advocate their cause. He had the cause much at heart, and frequently pressed it on the notice of his hearers, and especially of the ministers of his connection.

Slavery “is the sum and substance of all villanies.”—*Rev. John Wesley*, 1703–1791.

Four days before his death, Wesley wrote the following letter to a friend (supposed to be William Wilberforce) :—

London, February 26, 1791.

Dear Sir,—Unless the Divine power has raised you up to be as Athanasius, *contra mundum*, I see not how you can go through your glorious enterprize, in opposing that execrable villainy, which is the scandal of religion, of England, and of human nature. Unless God has raised you up for this very thing, you will be worn out by the opposition of men and devils. But, “if God be for you, who can be against you?” Are all of them together stronger than God? O “be not weary in well doing!” Go on, in the name of God, and in the power of his might, till even American slavery (the vilest that ever saw the sun) shall vanish away before it.—*John Wesley.*

—“Is there not some chosen curse,
Some hidden thunder in the stores of heaven,
Red with uncommon wrath, to blast the man
Who owes his greatness to his country’s sin?”

Addison’s Cato, 1713.

“The horrors of slavery; the hardships of incessant toils! No one thinks with compassion of those showers of sweat and

of tears which, from the bodies of Africans daily drop, and moisten the ground they till. Strange order of things! O nature, where art thou? Are not these blacks thy children as well as we? Cheered by no one single motive that can impel the will or excite their efforts, nothing but sorrows and punishments are presented to them.”—*J. Hector St. John*, (Pennsylvania), 1780.

“Hear it, ye Senates! hear this voice sublime,
He who allows oppression, shares the crime.”

Darwin, 1721–1781.

“The slave-trade is a gross violation of the law of nature, and attended with many aggravating circumstances of cruelty.” “Slavery is a dominion and system of laws the most merciless and tyrannical that were ever tolerated on the face of the earth.”—*Moral and Political Philosophy, Archdeacon Paley*, 1743–1805.

“If I’m designed yon lordling’s slave,
By Nature’s law designed,
Why was an independent wish
E’er planted in my mind?
If not, why am I subject to
His cruelty or scorn?
Or why has man the will and power
To make his fellow mourn?”—*Burns*, 1759–1796.

“Slavery is the greatest practical evil that can afflict the human race.” “Such is human nature, that no man can be trusted with arbitrary or *unlimited power* without abusing it, and this is an *eternal argument against slavery wherever it exists.*”—*Thomas Clarkson*, 1760–1847.

Slavery—Its effects on Africa:—“The whole or greater part of that immense continent is a field of warfare and desolation; a wilderness in which the inhabitants are wolves to each other.”—*Bryan Edwards*, 1743–1800.

“They who possess higher gifts should remember the condition under which they are enjoyed:—‘From him to whom much is given, much will be required!’ What a commentary on this head is furnished by negro slavery, as carried on, and permitted by religious nations, by Christian kings, Catholic majesties, and Defenders of the Faith, &c.”—*Dr. Lawrence*.

"The law of nature being coeval with mankind, and dictated by God himself, is of course superior in obligation to any other. It is binding all over the globe, in all countries, and at all times. No human law can have any validity if contrary to these; and such of them as are valid, derive all their force, mediately or immediately, from the original."—*Fortescue.*

Dr. James Beattie, Professor of Moral Philosophy in Marischal College, Aberdeen, published *An Essay on Truth*, which met with general acceptance and wide circulation. In this work he vindicated the intellectual powers of the Africans, and condemns their slavery as a barbarous piece of policy, and inconsistent with the free and generous spirit of the British nation.—1735–1803.

"Mark the withering effect of slavery on the moral feelings!"—Hall's *Travels in America.*

"It is difficult for any one who feels and reasons rightly, to dwell on the peculiar enormity of American slavery, without the utmost indignation being excited. This indignation is heightened by the fact of so many professing Christians in that country joining in the execrable conspiracy against everything that is worthy and commendable on the side of the negro, and for everything that is withering to his best feelings and his brightest hopes!"—*William Day* (formerly Editor of the Christian's Friend, and Jersey Argus.)

"Thus man devotes his brother, and destroys ;
And worse than all, and most to be deplored,
As human nature's broadest, foulest blot,
Chains him, and tasks him, and exacts his sweat
With stripes, that Mercy, with a bleeding heart,
Weeps when she sees inflicted on a beast. .
All other sorrows virtue may endure,
And find submission more than half the cure ;
Grief is itself a medicine, and bestowed
T' improve the fortitude and bear the load ;
To teach the wanderer, as his woes increase,
The path of wisdom, all whose paths are peace.
But slavery !—Virtue dreads it as her grave :
Patience itself is meanness in a slave ;
Or if the will and sovereignty of God
Bid suffer it a while and kiss the rod,

Wait for the dawning of a brighter day,
And snap the chain the moment when you may.
 Canst thou, and honoured with a Christian name,
 Buy what is woman-born, and feel no shame ;
 Wade in the blood of innocence, and plead
Expedience as a warrant for the deed ?”

William Cowper, 1731-1800.

“ Ah ! me, what wish can prosper, or what prayer,
 For merchants rich in cargoes of despair ?
 Who drive a loathsome traffic, gauge and span,
 And buy the muscles and the bones of man !”—*Cowper.*

In 1784, Dr. George Gregory produced a volume of essays, historical and moral. In these he took an opportunity of disseminating a circumstantial knowledge of the slave-trade, and an equal abhorrence of it. By many weighty arguments he proved that—“ Slavery is an unmixed evil, whether regarded in a moral or political point of view.” He early proposed that Parliament should abolish both the slave-trade and slavery.—*Historical and Moral Essay, by Dr. Geo. Gregory, 1754-1808.*

Professor Millar especially pointed out the inconsistency of a people boasting of their own freedom, and yet reducing a great proportion of their fellow-men to the most cruel bondage.

In an essay *On the Origin of Ranks*, the author explains the impolicy of slavery in general ; its bad effects upon industry, morals, and population.—*Professor Millar, 1735-1801.*

“ As St. Paul has coupled man-stealers with murderers, he has condemned the slave-trade in one of its most productive modes ; the word translated *man-stealers* should have been rendered *slave-traders*.”—Speech in the House of Lords.

“ Slavery is injustice, which no consideration of policy can extenuate.”—*Bishop Horsley, 1733-1806.*

In a debate in the House of Commons, to regulate the British slave-trade, in 1789, he declared—“ That he knew no such thing as a regulation of robbery and murder.”—“ If the situation of slaves were as happy as servitude could make them, I must not commit the enormous crime of selling man to man. Personal freedom is a right of which he who deprives

a fellow-creature is absolutely criminal in so depriving him, and which, he who withholds, is no less criminal in withholding.”—*Right Hon. Charles James Fox, M.P., 1749–1806.*

Slavery “is an outrage upon justice, and only another name for fraud, robbery, and murder. There is something in the horrors of it which surpasses all bounds of imagination.”

“It is a mass, a system of enormities, which incontrovertibly bids defiance to every regulation which ingenuity can devise, or power effect, but a total extinction. Why ought slavery to be abolished? Because it is incurable injustice. Why is this injustice to remain for a single hour?”—*Right Hon. William Pitt, M.P., 1759–1806.*

“The whole system is essentially and radically bad. Injustice and oppression are its fundamental principles. I do not affirm or imagine that every slave-holder is therefore a wicked man, but if he is not, it is only on the score of ignorance. Let us leave the deserts of the individual to Him who knoweth the heart; of his actions we may speak, and we ought to speak in the language of *reprobation, disgust, and abhorrence.*”—*Jonathan Dymond* (a Quaker; author of an admirable work on Moral Philosophy).

Among those who by their works advocated the cause of the negro, independently of any systematic effort to abolish the slave-trade, we must notice Dr. Beilby Porteus, first Bishop of Chester, and afterwards Bishop of London. In 1783 he preached and published a sermon on behalf of the negroes, which was widely circulated, and tended much to excite a benevolent interest on their behalf. This pious and enlightened prelate never failed to aid the cause he had undertaken; and his support, when the measure of abolition was brought before parliament, was uniform and important.

“The Christian religion,” he says, “is opposed to slavery in its spirit and its principles; it classes men-stealers among murderers of fathers, of mothers, and the most profane criminals upon earth.”—*Bishop Beilby Porteus, 1731–1808.*

Granville Sharp, a distinguished linguist and philanthropist, was educated for the bar, but chiefly devoted his life to pursuits of literature and active benevolence. He was an inde-

fatigable advocate of the cause of the negro, being one of the first active labourers in England in their behalf. He not only endeavoured to diffuse sentiments of humanity on behalf of the oppressed Africans, but also determined on a plan of action, to which he devoted a great portion of his time, talents, and substance.

“Slavery,” he says, “is a complicated system of iniquity.”

“I thought it my duty to expose the monstrous impiety and cruelty of the slave-trade, in whatever form it is found ; and likewise, to assert that no authority on earth can ever render such enormous iniquities legal.”—*Granville Sharpe, 1735–1813.*

“If, among the various races of mankind, one is to be found which has been treated with greater harshness by the rest—one whose history is drawn with a deeper pencilling of injury and wretchedness, that race, wherever found, is entitled to the largest share of compassion. This, then, is the negro race—the most unfortunate of the family of man. What an accumulation of misery and wrong ! Which of the sands of her deserts has not been steeped in tears, wrung out by the pang of separation from kindred and country ? And in what part of the world have not her children been wasted by labours, and degraded by oppression ?”—*Rev. Richard Watson.*

“They (negro slaves) are,” said T——, “the most villainous race alive.”

“They certainly are the most unfortunate,” said the physician.

“Let them perform their tasks as they ought,” replied the other, “and they will not be unfortunate.”

“Why, it is not a slight misfortune,” said the Doctor, “to have such tasks to perform.”

“They are in a better situation than they were in their own country.”

“That would be difficult to prove,” said the physician ; “but were it certain, I should think it a bad reason for treating them ill here, merely because they had been very ill treated there.”—*Dr. John Moore, 1730–1802.*

In 1784, Rev. Gilbert Wakefield, in a powerful sermon preached at Richmond, in Surrey, exhibited the dreadful in-

justice, cruelty, and inconsistency of the slave-trade as practised by those who boast of their liberty, and by Christians, who profess a religion of mercy, meekness, and love.—1756–1801.

The Rev. James Ramsay, who resided nineteen years in St. Christopher's, and held two rectories there, was an able advocate for the negroes. In 1781, he returned to England, where he published several works, showing the injustice, cruelty, and degradation to which they were exposed, and on the unlawfulness of slavery. He was incessantly engaged on this subject, and to all appearance his death was hastened by his exertions in it.—1733–1789.

The cause of the oppressed negro was espoused and materially assisted by Capt. J. S. Smith, R. N., who corroborated the statements of Mr. Ramsay, confirming facts of which he had himself been an eye-witness. (About 1760.)

Mrs. Banks, the mother of Sir Joseph Banks, the celebrated traveller and naturalist, deserves a place as an opposer of slavery and oppression. In 1770, a negro was seized one dark night near her garden by two men, and dragged to a boat lying in the Thames. He was there gagged, tied with a cord, and conveyed to a ship bound for Jamaica, to be sold as a slave. The humane lady sent for Mr. Sharp, and put the case in his hands, declaring her willingness to bear the expense of bringing the delinquents to justice.

In 1772, the case of James Somerset, an African slave brought to England by his master, being tried in a court of law, the great and glorious result of the trial was, that as soon as any slave sets his foot on English territory he becomes free. This decision is alluded to by Cowper in the following lines:—

“ Slaves cannot breathe in England : if their lungs
Imbibe our air, that moment they are free.
They touch our country, and their shackles fall.
That’s noble, and bespeaks a nation proud
And jealous of the blessing. Spread it then,
And let it circulate through every vein
Of all your empire.”

This was a great triumph for those who rallied round the standard of humanity. The counsellors who pleaded this cause

were Davy, Glynn, Hargrave, Mansfield, and Alleyne, and they deserve to be enrolled in the list of promoters of the great cause of freedom, for by their arguments and eloquence, multitudes were enlightened and interested.

About 1780, a petition of the Quakers to the House of Commons against the slave-trade and slavery was presented by Sir Cecil Wray, who declared his hearty approbation of their petition, and his hope to see the day when not a slave should remain within the dominions of this realm.

Lord North seconded the motion, and concurred in the petition as that which recommended itself to every human breast.

In 1783, a committee of Quakers was formed for the specific object of promoting the liberation of the slaves in the West Indies, and for discouraging the slave-trade. This little band consisted of William Dilwyn, George Harrison, Samuel Hoare, Thomas Knowles, M.D., John Lloyd, and Joseph Woods. They endeavoured to enlighten the public by printing and distributing tracts, the first of which was written by Joseph Woods, entitled, *Thoughts on the Slavery of the Negroes*.

Extract from a petition from the inhabitants of Bridgewater, to the House of Commons, 1785 :—

“ Your petitioners, reflecting with the deepest sensibility on the deplorable condition of the African negroes, who, by the most flagitious means, are reduced to slavery and misery, beg to express a just abhorrence of a system of oppression, which no respect of private gain, no consideration of public advantage, no plea of political experience, can sufficiently justify or excuse.

“ Satisfied as your petitioners are that this inhuman system meets with the general execration of mankind, they flatter themselves the day is not far distant when it will be universally abolished ; and they most ardently hope to see a British Parliament, by the extinction of that sanguinary traffic, extend the blessings of liberty to millions beyond this realm, hold up to an enlightened world a glorious and merciful example, and stand foremost in the defence of the violated rights of human nature.”

The foregoing petition was drawn up at the suggestion of the Rev. George White, a clergyman, forwarded by Wm. Tuckett, Esq., mayor of the town, and presented to Parliament by the Hon. Ann Poulet, and Alexander Hood, Esq., afterwards Lord Bridport, members for Bridgewater.

Mr. Bemet Langton, a gentleman of family, fortune, learning, and general worth, was well received at the court of George III., with whom he frequently conversed: He was deeply impressed with a sense of the sufferings of the injured Africans, and the crimes of their oppressors. He did his utmost in promoting public inquiry into the subject, and was through life a zealous and active worker in the anti-slavery field.

Jonas Hanway, the philanthropist, and Sir Joshua Reynolds, the painter, expressed themselves friendly to the abolition of slavery.—1712-1786.

The Rev. Dr. Baker, of London, a clergyman of the Church of England, engaged, from a sense of duty, in exposing to the world the complication of guilt and misery entailed by slavery. His exertions were highly important in raising up friends to the cause of the negro.

Sir Charles and Lady Middleton (afterwards Lord and Lady Barham) urged Ramsay to undertake his work on behalf of the slaves. Sir Charles, as comptroller of the navy, gave Clarkson free access to his office to examine and make extracts from naval journals or other papers, which might throw a light on the traffic with Africa.

Joseph Gurney Bevan, and Samuel Hoare, highly esteemed Quakers, took a very active part in aiding Clarkson in his great work of opposing the slave-trade and slavery.

The talented and excellent Hannah More was deeply interested in the slave question. On the removal of her intimate friend Dr. Porteous, late Bishop of Chester, to the see of London, she writes thus to a friend :—

“I rejoice in it for many reasons, but for none more than that his ecclesiastical jurisdiction extending to the West Indies, will make him of infinite usefulness *in the great project I have so much at heart*, the project of abolishing the slave-trade in

Africa. This most important cause has very much occupied my thoughts this summer. The young gentleman, who has embarked in it with the zeal of an apostle, has engaged all my interests and affections in it. It is to be brought before Parliament in spring. Above a hundred members have promised their votes. Be sure to canvass everybody who has a heart. *To my feelings it is the most interesting subject that ever was discussed in the annals of humanity."*

Sir Richard Hill, brother of the venerable Rowland Hill, espoused the cause of the negro, and assisted in the abolition of the slave-trade.

Mr. Powys, afterwards Lord Milford, aided in the abolition of the slave-trade, distributing books opposed to the traffic.

"I think this infamous traffic cannot last long, at least this is my hope. After the period of investigation, should it still be persevered in, I think it will constitute a national sin, and of a very deep dye. I should tremble for the consequences; for, whatever politicians may think, I assuredly know there is a righteous Judge who governs the earth. He calls upon us to redress the injured, and should we perseveringly refuse, I cannot doubt but he will plead the cause himself."—*Rev. John Newton (in a letter to Hannah More.) 1725–1807.*

In 1787 an anti-slavery society was formed in London, including those appointed in 1783, excepting Dr. Knowles, who was then dying, but who sent an exhortation to persevere. The names added were Granville Sharpe, Clarkson, Richard Phillips, John Barton, Joseph Hooper, James Phillips, and Philip Sansom. All these, save three, were Quakers, and they commenced with renewed vigour for the abolition of the slave-trade.

From the will of the *Rev. Matthew Tate*, of South Carolina:—

"I enjoin it upon my executors to publish in all the papers in Charleston, that I departed this life under a full persuasion, that if I died in possession of a slave, I should not conceive myself admissible into the kingdom of heaven."—From the *Philadelphia Gazette*, November 5, 1795.

"Slavery is undoubtedly and confessedly one of the greatest evils that ever was inflicted on the human race, and has been

considered as the greatest curse by all nations, in all ages of the world. It, therefore, will not bear reasoning upon, and, if considered in the abstract, cannot be defended for a single moment; for we are all descended from the same parents, and are commanded in the Scriptures to consider all men as brethren, certainly no man (however rich and powerful he may be) has a shadow of right to make his brother a slave.”—*Rev. R. Bickell, Naval Chaplain, Port Royal.*

“The principle of perpetual slavery is totally inconsistent with the Jewish law. When we come down to Christianity, we find dealers in slaves are held among the worst of the human race. St. Paul, in his epistle to Timothy, tells us what the dealers in slaves are, and who are their companions. The slave-dealers are called ‘stealers of men,’ and their companions are liars, perjurors, murderers, and parricides.”—*Bishop of St. Asaph* (in the House of Lords, 1806).

Dr. Peckard, Master of Magdalen College, Cambridge, and Vice-Chancellor of that University, early distinguished himself as a warm friend to civil and religious liberty. In a sermon before the University, he bore a solemn testimony against the slave-trade, as involving an aggravated degree of individual and national guilt, which must be expected to draw down the heaviest judgments of a righteous God, who made of one blood all the sons of men, and gave to all an equal right to liberty.

The Bishop of Bath and Wells presided over a meeting, convened at Bath to petition for the speedy and total abolition of slavery.

President Madison said, “He opposed the introduction of the terms *slave* or *slavery* into the constitution, for he did not wish to see it recognized by the United States of America that there should be property in man. Having come out of a seven years’ war, undertaken to maintain the principle that all men are created equal, he thought it wrong to admit in the constitution the idea that man could hold property in man.”—Speech at the Convention which formed the American Government, *James Madison, President of the United States, 1750–1836.*

“Men take away *rights*, and then make a great merit of granting *privileges*, a process which, under the most favourable

circumstances, greatly impairs the moral strength of both aggressor and victim.”—*Author unknown.*

“Consenting to slavery is a sacrilegious trust.”—*John Adams*, President of the United States, 1736–1826.

“The stings of a wounded conscience man cannot inflict ; but nearly all which man can do to make his fellow-creatures miserable, without defeating his purpose by putting a speedy end to their existence, will still be here effected ; and it will still continue true, that never can so much misery be found condensed into so small a space as in a slave-ship during the middle passage.”—Address to his constituents (1807). *William Wilberforce, M.P.*, 1759–1833.

“The slave-trade is an infamous traffic. Charity is the soul of religion ; and that, while forbidding all cruelty, expressly prohibits that which is inflicted on the human race.”—*Pope Gregory XVI.*, 1765–1846.

“One hour for distant homes to weep,
'Midst Afric's burning sands ;
One silent sunset hour was given,
To the slaves of many lands.

“Broken with tears were oft their tones,
And most when most they tried
To breathe of hope and liberty
From hearts that only died.”—*Felicia Hemans*, 1793–1835.

“Neither men nor governments have a right to sell those of their species ; men and their liberty are neither purchasable nor saleable. This is the law of nature, which is obligatory on all men at all times, and in all places. Let us not, therefore, defend or support a usage which is contrary to all the laws of humanity.”—System of the Laws of Scotland. *Wallis.*

“Since the prohibition of the slave-trade, the negro contrabandist, thinking only of profiting by the danger to which he is exposed, heaps in the *moving dungeons* as many miserable beings as they can hold ; and after *tedious days*, and still more *tedious nights*, arrives in port with a small part of the cargo in a sinking state, and often attacked by the plague. Landed on a solitary coast, they remain without remedies, until infirmity and death put an end to their existence. This system of

fraud and violence is, to a great extent, founded upon an illicit slave-trade, by which not only the number of its victims, but its horrors, have been greatly increased during the present century.”—*Slavery in the Spanish Colonies.* *Countess Merlin.*

“The deplorable error of our ancestors in copying a civil institution from savage Africa, has affixed upon their posterity a depressing burden, which nothing but the extraordinary benefits conferred by our happy climate could have enabled us to support.”—*Governor Randolph's Address to the Legislature of Virginia, in 1820.*

“Slavery is an unnatural state, a dark cloud, *which obscures half the lustre of our free institutions.* I would hail that day as the most glorious in its dawning, which would behold, with safety to themselves and our citizens, the black population of the United States placed upon the high eminence of equal rights.”—*Mr. Read, of Georgia,* in the debate in Congress on the Missouri question.

“Are you republicans?—away!
 'Tis blasphemy the word to say.
 You talk of freedom? Out, for shame!
 Your lips contaminate the name.
 How dare you prate of public good,
 Your hands besmeared with human blood?
 How dare you lift those hands to heaven,
 And ask, or hope to be forgiven?
 How dare you breathe the wounded air,
 That wafts to heaven the negro's prayer?
 How dare you tread the conscious earth,
 That gave mankind an equal birth?
 And while you thus inflict the rod,
 How dare you say there is a God
 That will, in justice, from the skies,
 Hear and avenge his creature's cries?
 'Slave to be sold,' hark, what a sound!
 Ye give America a wound,
 A scar, a stigma of disgrace,
 Which you nor time can e'er efface,
 And prove, of nations yet unborn,
 The curse, the hatred, and the scorn!”

Horrors of Slavery, by *William Ray.*

Slavery.—“I tremble for my country,” said President Jefferson, “when I remember that God is just, and that his justice may not sleep for ever. A revolution is among possible events. The Almighty has no attribute which would side with us in such a struggle. Whatever is morally wrong cannot be politically right.” Referring to the slaves, he says:—“Nothing is more certainly written in the Book of Fate than that these people are to be free.”

President Jefferson also said, “One hour of American slavery is fraught with more misery than ages of that which we rose in rebellion to oppose;” and as early as 1774, he declared that “the abolition of domestic slavery is the greatest object to be desired in these colonies.”—*Thomas Jefferson, President of the United States, 1743–1826.**

The following is from the Treaty of Peace between Great Britain and the United States, signed at Ghent, December 24, 1814 :—

Article X. “Whereas the traffic in slaves is irreconcilable with the principles of humanity and justice; and whereas, both His Majesty and the United States are desirous of continuing their efforts to promote its entire abolition, it is hereby

* The *original draft* of the celebrated “Declaration of Independence,” drawn up by Thomas Jefferson (who subsequently became a slave-holder), contained a complaint against the mother country for maintaining slavery and the slave-trade. The paragraph, which ran as follows, was struck out by Congress:—“He (the King of Great Britain) has waged cruel war against human nature itself; violating its most sacred rights of life and liberty, in the persons of a distant people who never offended him; captivating and carrying into slavery in another hemisphere, or to incur miserable death in their transportation thither; this piratical warfare, the opprobrium of infidel powers, is the warfare of the Christian King of Great Britain. Determined to keep open a market where men should be bought and sold, he has prostituted his negative for suppressing every legislative attempt to prohibit or restrain this execrable commerce.” [It is absurd in the Americans, now, to blame Great Britain as to the introduction of slavery in the New World, as they thus, at the establishment of their Government, openly tolerated it, although the words *slave* and *slavery* were studiously avoided in the Constitution.]

agreed, that both the contracting parties shall use their best endeavours to accomplish so desirable an object.

Article XI. “This treaty shall be binding on both parties.” (*Query.*) Does this not allude to the *internal* slave-trade also? *If so,* Great Britain as a government might remonstrate.

“*All treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land, and the Judges in every State shall be bound thereby, anything in the constitution and laws of any state to the contrary notwithstanding.*”—*Act VI., Constitution of the United States.*

Hence it appears that the “supreme law” of the land is opposed to the “traffic in slaves,” and the good faith of the United States is pledged to promote its entire abolition.

“While I am indulging in my views of American prospects and American liberty, it is mortifying to be told that in that very country a large portion of the people are slaves! It is a dark spot on the face of the nation. Such a state of things cannot always exist. *I would never have drawn my sword in the cause of America, if I could have conceived that thereby I was founding a land of slavery.*”—*Marquis D'Lafayette, 1757–1834.*

“Of all slave-holders under heaven, those of the United States appear to me the most reprehensible; for man is never so truly odious as when he inflicts upon others that which he himself abominates.”—Letter of *Edward Rushton* to General Washington.

“Where the foundation is weak, the structure falls. What is invalid from the beginning, cannot be made valid by length of time.”—*Noyes.*

“Against these (equity and justice) there is proscription, or statute, or usage; and should any be enacted, they would not be statutes, but only corrupt customs.”—*Dr. H. Steel.*

“An Act of Parliament may be void from its creation, as an act against natural rights and equity.”—*Hobart.*

“Statutes against fundamental morality are void.”—*Judge Maclean, United States.*

“ Was man ordained the slave of man to toil,
 Yoked with the brutes, and fettered to the soil—
 Weighed in a tyrant’s balance with his gold ?
 No ! nature stamped us in a heavenly mould ;
 She bade no wretch his thankless labour urge,
 Nor trembling take the pittance of the scourge.”

Thomas Campbell, 1777-1844.

“ United States, your banner wears
 Two emblems,—one of fame ;
 Alas, the other that it bears
 Reminds us of your shame.
 The white man’s liberty in types,
 Stands blazoned by your stars ;
 But what’s the meaning of your stripes ?
 They mean your Negro-scars.”

Thomas Campbell, 1777-1844.

About the year 1814, steps were taken, by those interested in the Negro, to remove the ignorance which prevailed in France as to the nature and effects of the slave-trade. These efforts were powerfully seconded by those of the Duke of Wellington, then British Ambassador at the court of France.

The Prince Regent also wrote a letter to the King of France, in which the most earnest persuasion was used, to induce the French monarch to concur in measures for the universal removal of the “ painful and disgusting stain” of the slave-trade.

The Prince Regent further directed his Ambassador at the court of France, to offer to the French Government either a sum of money or the cession of an island in the West Indies, in order to obtain from them the immediate abolition of the slave-trade.

At the Congress of Vienna, in 1815, Lord Castlereagh proposed measures for the general abolition of the slave-trade. The Congress put forth a declaration, unanimously agreed to, condemnatory of slave-trading. In this document, a desire is expressed to put an end to a “scourge” which has “so long desolated Africa, degraded Europe, and afflicted humanity;” and it is asserted that the final triumph of the abolition of the slave-trade will be “one of the greatest monuments of the age

which undertook it, and which shall have gloriously carried it into complete effect.”—Dated at Vienna, Feb. 18, 1815.

At a party at the house of Mr. Longton, consisting of Wilberforce, Clarkson, Sir Charles Middleton, Hawkins Browne, Sir Joshua Reynolds, and Mr. Boswell, the subject of the slave-trade was introduced after dinner. Much interest was excited, and the party unanimously agreed in unqualified disapprobation of the odious traffic ; and that no argument of policy or expediency ought to have the least weight against the claims of justice and humanity. “ Rather,” it was justly exclaimed, “ let Liverpool” [then deeply interested in the continuance of the traffic], “ and the islands be swallowed up in the sea, than this monstrous system of iniquity be carried on.”

William Roscoe composed a splendid poem on the slave-trade, entitled, *The Wrongs of Africa*, which was published with a preface by Dr. Currie of Liverpool. The tendency of this was to awaken kindly feelings towards the oppressed Africans.

“ Formed with the same capacity of pain,
 The same desire of pleasure and of ease,
 Why feels not man for man ? When nature shrinks
 From the slight puncture of an insect’s sting,
 Faints, if not screened from sultry suns, and pines
 Beneath the hardship of an hour’s delay
 Of needful nutriment ;—when Liberty
 Is prized so dearly, that the slightest breath
 That ruffles but her mantle, can awake
 To arms unwarlike nations, and can rouse
 Confederate States to vindicate her claims :—
 How shall the sufferer, man, his fellow doom
 To ills he mourns or spurns at ; tear with stripes
 His quivering flesh ; with hunger and with thirst
 Waste his emaciate frame ; in ceaseless toils
 Exhaust his vital powers ; and bind his limbs
 In galling chains !— *William Roscoe, 1752–1831.*

When Clarkson’s conduct and motives were calumniated by the West Indian and African merchants interested in the slave-trade, he met with friends who not only defended his character, but who forwarded his views. Among these not already named were Dr. Camplin, a clergyman of the Establish-

ment, and the venerable Dean Tucker ; also the Rev. Henry Sulgar, of the Moravian Society.

Dr. Davis, a clergyman at Monmouth, convinced of the injustice and impolicy of the slave-trade, used his influence in promoting its abolition.

Rev. Mr. Hughes, pastor of a Baptist church, and tutor of a Baptist academy (the originator, and for many years secretary, of the British and Foreign Bible Society), assisted in opposing the slave-trade.

The Rev. Mr. Leigh, a clergyman of Norfolk, gave his services, in that large county, in assisting the abolition of slavery.

Robert Raikes of Gloucester, proprietor of a newspaper in that city and the founder of Sunday Schools, assisted in opposing slavery. He engaged to insert communications in his paper without charge, and in other ways promoted the cause especially by informing the public mind, &c.

Mr. Cawdry, of Chester, editor of the Chester paper, was greatly rejoiced to find from Clarkson that the abolition of the slave-trade was contemplated. He communicated information through his paper without any remuneration, and in other ways assisted in opposing slavery.

Edward Rushton, who had been an officer in a slave ship, became an enemy to the trade. He published a poem entitled, *West Indian Eclogues*, with a view of making the public better acquainted with the evils of the slave-trade, and of exciting their indignation against it.

Lord and Lady Scarsdale, having read Clarkson's work on the slave-trade with deep attention and interest, became desirous of aiding him in so good a cause. Lord Scarsdale promised his assistance if the subject came before the House of Lords, and his lady engaged to use her influence in the private circle, although at the hazard of offending near and dear friends, who had interests in the West Indies.

A talented and benevolent lady, Miss Hope, of Liverpool, was generally understood to be the author of a small tract

opposed to slavery, entitled *Immediate, not Gradual Abolition; or an Inquiry into the Shortest, Safest, and most Effectual Means of getting rid of West Indian Slavery.*

Lord Suffield advocated the abolition of slavery, and, in a long and animated speech in the House of Lords, defended abolitionists from the charges of rash views, precipitancy, and enthusiasm, and displayed the unmitigated horrors of slavery from facts. Lord Suffield closed an interesting and animated speech with the following emphatic quotation : “Such are the evils of slavery, that they admit but one species of mitigation—to limit the time of their duration ; and such the effects of slavery, that they admit but of one cure—total abolition.”

Dr. Andrew Spaarman, professor of physic, inspector of the museum of the Royal Academy at Stockholm, and Mr. C. B. Wadstrom, chief director of the Assay Office there, were sent to Africa by the king of Sweden, to make discoveries in botany, mineralogy, and other departments of science. These gentlemen assisted Clarkson with information relative to the slave-trade, fully corroborating all previous accounts of the enormities connected with it.

The learned Marquis de Condorcet assisted in opposing slavery, by becoming president of an anti-slavery society, established in Paris. Amongst the friends of freedom, who early became members of this society, may be named the Duc de Rochefoucault, the Marquis de la Fayette, and Petion, afterwards Mayor of Paris, as also ladies of the highest rank and intellect. Dr. Frossard of Lyons diffused information on the subject, in the south of France, and distributed publications averse to the slave-trade.

The following gentlemen advocated principles of justice and humanity, and an abhorrence of slavery :—James Minter, Esq. M. P.; H. Grimston, Esq., Whitwell Hall, near York ; Rev. R. Brome, of Ipswich ; Capel Loft, Esq., a literary gentleman of Troston, in Suffolk.

Archdeacon Plymley (afterwards Corbett) was an opponent of Negro slavery. He proposed a petition to Parliament, from the clergy of the diocese of Litchfield and Coventry, who were anxious to oppose the slave trade.

Dr. Sharp, Prebendary of Durham, and Dr. Woodward, Bishop of Cloyne, in Ireland, assisted in opposing the slave-trade.

Lord Grenville evinced a warm feeling on behalf of the injured Africans, and was an opponent of slavery.

Dr. Binns, a Quaker physician, was an opposer of slavery, and for his promoting the cause of abolition, narrowly escaped falling into a plot which had been laid against him.

William Rathbone, a Quaker of Liverpool, a person of much humility and simplicity, united to it great firmness of mind. He was an extensive timber merchant, but would not allow any article to be sold for the use of a slave ship.

The Rev. Mr. Philips, of Manchester, at the suggestion of Clarkson, preached a sermon on the slave-trade. He conceived it to be a mass of crimes, that an effort to get rid of it was a Christian's duty, and might be urged on the most sacred principles.

The Rev. Dan Taylor, and Rev. Stephen Lowdell, attended as a deputation from the annual meeting of the General Baptists, to inform the anti-slavery committee that their society approved their proceedings.

The Rev. B. R. Nicholls, Dean of Middleham, in Yorkshire, who was a native of the West Indies, and had travelled in America, aided the London anti-slavery committee, by communicating much valuable information, showing the results of the abolition of the slave-trade.

A lively interest, in the abolition of the slave-trade, was manifested in the university and town of Cambridge. Amongst these, Dr. Watson, Bishop of Llandaff, the author of *An Apology for the Bible*, was the most conspicuous.

A similar spirit was manifested in Oxford. Dr. Horne, President of Magdalene College, in that university, and afterwards Bishop of Norwich, was a zealous favourer of abolition ; as was also Dr. Bathurst, a Canon of Christ Church, afterwards Bishop of Norwich.

Dr. Hinchcliffe, Bishop of Peterboro', expressed his hearty approbation of the abolition of the slave-trade, and determined to aid it in Parliament.

William Smith, for many years M.P. for Norwich, was a steady friend to the cause of Negro emancipation, and devoted much time and attention to its promotion. Died 1835.

Robert Barclay, John Vickriss Taylor, and Josiah Wedgwood, advocated the abolition movement.

Mr. Wedgwood, who was the proprietor of the extensive potteries called Etruria, in Staffordshire, and inventor of the ware that bears his name, was strongly opposed to Negro slavery. He produced a beautiful cameo, modelled from the Anti-Slavery Society's seal, and liberally distributed many thousands among his friends.

Brissot and Claviere, two Frenchmen, who suffered during the revolutionary troubles in France, associated themselves with those who opposed slavery; offering to translate and distribute works, and so create an interest on the subject in France.

Amongst those who evinced an interest in behalf of the slave, and promoted their emancipation, may be included Dr. Price, a celebrated political and moral writer, and a minister of a Dissenting congregation at Hackney; John Kerrich, Esq. of Harleston, in Suffolk; Joshua Grigby, Esq. of Drinkston, in Norfolk; and Major Cartwright, and the Rev. John Charlesworth, in Nottinghamshire.

Dr. Evans, pastor of a Baptist church, and tutor of an academy in Bristol, was an opposer of the slave-trade.

The Rev. Richard Cecil was an opposer of slavery, and was one of those who urged Hannah More to write her poem on that subject.

Lord Mornington (afterwards Marquis Wellesley), warmly opposed a proposal in Parliament *gradually* to abolish the slave-trade, declaring that between right and wrong there could be no compromise.

James Stephen, Esq., published several valuable and important works against the slave-trade.

Sir Robert Buxton, Mr. Hobhouse, Mr. Bouverie, Samuel Whitbread, Esq., George Canning, who, in 1827, died prime minister of England ; the Duke of Gloucester, Bishop of Durham (Dr. Barrington), Earls Moira, Selkirk, and Rosslyn ; Henry Thornton, Esq., M.P. ; Lords King, Hood, and Loughboro, Lord Chancellor Erskine, Lord Holland, Sir A. Pigott, the Bishop of Rochester, the Bishop of St. Asaph, Lord Ellenborough, Dr. Birkbeck, Lord Henry Petty (afterwards Lord Lansdowne), Dr. Horsley, and Earl Grosvenor, were warm opposers of the slave-trade.

Lord Teignmouth, president of the British and Foreign Bible Society, became a warm supporter of the anti-slavery movement.

In 1807, Lord Grenville introduced and supported a motion in Parliament in a most able and interesting speech, fully proving, from facts, the injustice, inhumanity, and impolicy of the slave-trade. Lord Viscount Howick (afterwards Earl Grey) also made an eloquent and powerful speech in favour of the cause, supported by Mr. Fawkes, Lord Mahon, Lord Milton (afterwards Earl Fitzwilliam), the Duke of Norfolk, Sir John Doyle, Sir Samuel Romilly, Earl Percy, and others, names since familiarized in association with every liberal and benevolent measure. The Bishop of Llandaff said, in reference to the requirements of the bill introduced against the slave-trade that "this great act of justice would be recorded in heaven."

A number of negroes being taken to Trinidad to be employed as free labourers, the planters objected to it, stating that no negro would work even for hire, and that, if settled there as free men, they would subsist by plunder. Sir Ralph Woodford, the governor, resisted these prejudices, and resolved on trying the experiment of freedom against slavery. The result was most satisfactory ; these free negroes laboured with industry, and maintained a peaceable demeanour and general good conduct, which entirely refuted the calumnies raised against their race.

Sir George Rose, Lord Althorp, Hon. and Rev. Baptist Noel, Rev. J. W. Cunningham, Rev. G. Noel, Sir James Mackintosh, and Sir George Murray, were amongst those who warmly

promoted the abolition of the slave-trade and slavery ; Lords Melbourne, Palmerston, Goderich, Lord John Russell, Lord Auckland, the Hon. Mr. Stanley, Sir James Graham, and Sir T. Denman, were also opponents of slavery, and their names must be enrolled amongst the promoters of freedom.

" Horrid as are the features of the slave-trade and slavery, they are by no means, in any one feature, exaggerated or caricatured. It is utterly impossible for any human being, who has not been himself in the situation, to conceive anything like the sufferings experienced by the poor slaves on the passage. They may vary in degree, but all are horrible."—*Samuel Roberts, Park Grange, Sheffield, 1826.*

" Slaves are, of all human beings, the most oppressed and most miserable ; and those who are instrumental in placing and keeping them in that state of bondage, are of all men the most inhuman, if not the most wicked. Not one of the numerous speakers who have preceded me but have admitted that slavery is totally repugnant to Christianity, and therefore highly offensive in the sight of God."—*John Freeman. (Public meeting, Sheffield, January 18, 1826.)*

" I hear a loud voice from the west,
A shriek that flies o'er land and flood ;
It is our nature's cry, distress'd—
It is our brother's blood.

It comes from myriads of poor blacks,
Deep buried in their horrid graves ;
It streams adown the thousand backs
Of lash'd and living slaves.

'Tis man—enduring unto death,
Untired oppression's iron rod ;
'Tis man—with his expiring breath,
Beseeching man and God.

O when shall Afric's sons find grace,
And know their dreadful bondage o'er ?
When shall the unoffending race,
Be bought and sold no more !"

John Holland, Sheffield Park, 1826.

The Rev. John Thorpe who was curate of St. Thomas in the East, Jamaica, from 1826 to 1829, and afterwards curate of Wiggington, in Oxfordshire, bore his testimony (from experience) to the nature and effects of slavery.

He disavowed all hostility to the planters, many of whom he respected ; his enmity was to the system, which, with a corrupt foundation, was upheld by corrupt means. After detailing some incidents of slavery, he said : " Such facts serve to lift up the curtain with which the planters studiously veil the cruelties of their system, and expose to our view some of its terrible enormities, the full amount of which is only known to Him who maketh inquisition for blood, and who forgetteth not one cry of these poor oppressed Africans." He afterwards stated slavery to be " a monster whose existence ought no longer to be allowed."

Thomas Pringle, who published a narrative of a residence in South Africa, bears his testimony against oppression.

The Rev. William Wright, an intelligent clergyman of the English church, and who was for ten years employed as a missionary of the " Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts," after stating the real facts of slavery, observes : " The facts are not brought forward for the purpose of raising a charge of peculiar inhumanity against any body of men, but to demonstrate the *evil principle* of slavery itself ; to exhibit its utter incompatibility with the purest, the best, and most perfect of institutions ; to show that all amelioration and mitigation are hopeless, while the axe is not laid to the root of the tree ; and to furnish one proof more, if such were necessary, that slavery not only debases and degrades its victim, but has a reciprocal tendency to destroy the moral feeling of the master, and that it carries cruelty, and perjury, and almost every other vice in its train."

In the division of the House of Commons, on the first motion of Mr. Wilberforce, for the abolition of the African slave-trade, after the Irish union, every Irish member present supported the measure.

W. Senhouse, Esq., a proprietor in Barbadoes, asserted that his negroes were most orderly and tractable ; that, if treated

with humanity, they would soon repay a valuable increase of property, and that a supply would never be wanted from a traffic so justly condemned as the slave-trade.

Sir William Dolben and Sir James Johnstone opposed the slave-trade as being wicked and unjustifiable. In a Parliamentary speech, the former affectingly alluded to the horrors of the middle passage ; and so deeply was his mind impressed with the subject, he could not endure the consideration of it to be delayed to another session, but desired to do something by which the miseries of the trade might be immediately diminished and finally abolished.

Lord Belgrave opposed the abettors of the slave-trade in Parliament. The most strenuous supporters, in the House of Lords, of the bill against this odious traffic, were the Duke of Richmond, Marquis Townshend, the Earl of Carlisle, Bishop of Ripon, and Earl Stanhope. This, which was the first bill that ever put fetters on that barbarous and destructive monster the slave-trade, the British monarch, George III., confirmed with his assent.

"Can any enactments of human legislators lawfully make one man the property of another ? Is a robbery thus sanctioned the less an infringement of the eighth clause of the Scripture decalogue ?

"The gross injustice, and awful criminality, of a free nation suffering such an abomination as negro slavery to exist in her dominions!"—*S. Strickland*, London, Feb. 19, 1831.

At a meeting at Ipswich in 1830, the Rev. Joseph Orton, a missionary from Jamaica, said, "That nothing short of a sense of duty, arising from an utter abhorrence of slavery, produced by personal observation, would have induced him to come forward to aid a cause, which had for its object the extirmination of a system so fraught with evil. He had had many painful opportunities of witnessing the horrors of slavery. He had heard the clanking of the chains of the poor negroes, and listened to their heart-rending shrieks under the lash of the whip ; nor had he become callous to them, as might be the case with some long accustomed to view, and to participate in, and to profit by such scenes of human misery. His hatred to

it, as a brutal system, had increased in proportion to the length of his acquaintance with it. They were all agreed that slavery was *bad in principle*. Not only so, it was *cruel in practice.*"—*Rev. Joseph Orton, Wesleyan missionary, Jamaica, 1830.*

"Demon of vengeance! Justice, reason, and humanity, all cry aloud for the redress of this abuse."—*Rev. J. M. Frew, Rector of St. Thomas in the East, Jamaica, author of Nine Letters to the Duke of Wellington on Colonial Slavery.*

The Rev. Dr. Philip, author of *Researches in South Africa*, bears an unequivocal testimony against slavery.

"It was, in accent shrill and loud,
A negro's piercing wail;
And Heaven did hear, beyond the cloud,
Distracted sorrow's tale.

The deadly horrors of that night,
How shall the muse pourtray?
The curling smoke, and glaring light,
Where towns in ashes lay!

The shrieks of Afric's frantic maids,
The binding of her swains,
The stifled cries from burning shades,
Confusion, blood, and chains!

Oh! 'twas Apollyon's hateful hour,
When lust and rage bore sway;
But cruel wrath's despotic power
Will Heaven's high hand repay."

—*John Burtt, London, 1846. Author of The Young Patriot.*

"Those who enslave men, or who are accessory to it, are neither moralists nor Christians; for we know that to drag innocent people from their near and dear connections, and from their native land, to consign them to slavery, to wear out their lives in continual hardships, is unjust—and all this injustice has been *fully proved* upon the enslavers of men."—*William Allen.*

Dr. Lettsom, the Quaker philanthropist, became possessed of a large property of slaves in Tortola, bequeathed to him by Major Pickering, one of the wealthiest planters in the West Indies. The doctor emancipated them all, and thus records

the circumstance :—“ My own happiness became at length so closely connected with the happiness of my negroes, that I could no longer withhold *from them* the natural privilege of freedom, which Heaven had conferred upon *me*. I therefore delivered them from bondage, and thus restored them to the character of beings into whom the Author of nature, and giver of all good, has breathed the breath of life.”—*Dr. J. C. Lettsom.*

“ Addressing myself to the slaveowner, he said he was seeking a market where he might dispose of his slaves to the best advantage. I told him his business was a very bad one, and that a day of reckoning would come, in which he would have to account to his Maker for his conduct towards these poor creatures. I told him he had better die poor, than amass wealth by such means as he was aiming at.”—*Thomas Shillitoe.*

During his travels in America, Shillitoe testified very strongly against slavery. Meeting, on one occasion, a dealer in human flesh and blood, he says in his Journal: “ I found it laid upon me to open my mind to him freely, on the iniquitous practice of dealing in, or keeping in bondage, our fellow-creatures, and to warn him against pursuing such evil courses ; declaring it to be my firm belief, that, in this enlightened age, neither slaveholder, nor slave-merchant, would ever find a seat in the kingdom of heaven.”—*Thomas Shillitoe.*

“ And shall the nations dare to hold
 In chains whom Thou has chartered free ?
 Or buy, with their accursed gold,
 The sinewy arm and servile knee.
 Whate'er of crime, whate'er of woe,
 Europe has wrought, or Afric wept,
 In his recording volume, lo !
 The Angel of thy Court has kept.
 In that great day, when Afric's race
 Are from their house of bondage cast,
 O, hide us in some peaceful place,
 Till all thy wrath be overpast !”

Jeremiah H. Wiffen.

“ Slavery in the nineteenth century—in the bosom of a Christian country—in the full blaze of constitutional theory, historic tradition, and republican light, is an anomaly, and a

horror which has no precedent in the universe, and to which nothing can reconcile a thinking and a feeling man."

"Man held as a thing, and sold with as little concern, and often in the same lot as a Berkshire sow, or a Sussex boar! This is the indignity put upon our kind—an outrage committed on the world's liberty, which no sophistry can disguise, no expediency can palliate, and no language can hold up to sufficient execration."—*George Armstrong.*

"Erin, my country! o'er the swelling wave,
Join in the cry, ask freedom for the slave—
Immediate freedom—
Long hath he suffered—long been known to weep,
Whil'st retributive justice seem'd to sleep;
Rous'd at the call of freedom, from her trance,
She bids thy sons in her bright train advance.
Their eloquence,—O! may it, as the roar
Of the loud thunder, vibrate to each shore
Of this vast empire, e'en till every heart,
Fired with fresh ardour in her cause take part."

Irish Writer unknown, Belfast, 1837.

At a public meeting in 1831, the objects chiefly insisted on were, that "nothing short of the utter extinction of slavery could be satisfactory." Lord Suffield filled the chair. The speakers were Mr. Buxton, Sir James Mackintosh, Dr. Lushington, Rev. D. Wilson (afterwards bishop of Calcutta), Daniel O'Connell, Mr. Sheil, Mr. Pownall, Rev. J. Burnett, Rev. Richard Wilson, Mr. Evans, Mr. Stephen, and Rev. J. W. Cunningham. Dr. Lushington suggested the propriety of merging every political difference in the one grand cause of justice and humanity.

John Jeremie, Esq., several years president of the Royal Court of St. Lucia, went out there an anti-abolitionist, not having thought much on the subject of slavery. His eyes were gradually opened to the delusions under which he had laboured, and he zealously endeavoured to prove, not only by arguments, but by facts, the inseparable evils of the system.

"Slavery is a question of humanity, not of country or race—not of one city, state, party, or nation."—*Miss Martineau.*

At a public meeting in 1832, Earl Fitzwilliam alluded with much feeling and interest to the period of his early recollections, when the noble earl (Grey) moved in the House of Commons that great act of national justice—the abolition of the slave-trade. The noble earl had since given the most irrefragable proof that his sentiments had not changed, and that he would crown that act by one still more glorious, by giving freedom to the slave population in the colonial possessions of Great Britain. He maintained that the negro possessed an inalienable right to his liberty ; that the views of the friends of emancipation were consistent with the eternal laws of justice, and therefore they must prevail.

'At a public meeting in 1832, George Strickland, M.P., lamented the long delay that had been permitted in reinstating the injured negro in his rights, and expressed his firm persuasion that the time was near at hand when the chain would be broken from the arm of the slave.

The first of August, 1834, was fixed upon for the emancipation of the 800,000 slaves in the British West Indies. Lord Mulgrave, the governor of Jamaica, went himself throughout the island personally, explaining this circumstance to the negroes. His amiable lady accompanied him on this most interesting journey ; and, while the negro parents pressed to listen to the joyful promise of their own emancipation and their children's freedom, this noble-minded, as well as titled British lady, was seen caressing the lively black infant that capered in its mother's arms, as if partaking of the general joy.

The Rev. J. Ivimey, pastor of a Baptist congregation in Eagle Street, Holborn, was a distinguished advocate and promoter of the abolition of slavery.

Mr. Whiteley, a man of highly respectable character, went out to Jamaica with a strong bias in favour of the existing system of slavery ; but the scenes of horror he there witnessed, the cruelty, the licentiousness, the oppression, the persecution, fully convinced him of the evils of slavery. Impelled by a sense of duty to his suffering fellow-men, he issued a statement of the case in a pamphlet, entitled, *Three months in Jamaica, in 1832, comprising a residence of seven weeks in a sugar plantation.*

“Slavery is an evil which admits but of one alleviation, namely, limit as to its duration ; and but of one cure, namely, annihilation.”—*James Stephen, Esq.*

“If there be, within the extent of our knowledge and influence, any participation in this traffic in slaves, let us pledge ourselves, upon the *Rock of Plymouth*, to extirpate and destroy it. It is not fit that the land of the pilgrims should bear the shame longer. Let that spot be purified, or let it be set aside from the Christian world ; let it be put out of the circle of human sympathies and human regards ; and let civilized men henceforth have no communion with it.”—*Daniel Webster* (a United States senator), in 1820.

“America has the mournful honour of adding a new department to the literature of civilization,—the autobiography of escaped slaves.”—*Ephraim Peabody, D.D.*

“What ! are thousands of our fellow-creatures within our State, destitute of every real protection afforded them by law, either in their persons or property—without any law to guard their marriage rights, or without the law’s having any knowledge of marriage among them—(for such is the fact with regard to the whole slave population among us)—many of them under the control of cruel and relentless masters, from whom they receive much inhuman abuse—and yet are we told that all this needs no legislative interference ! Monstrous, indeed, is the doctrine !”—Oration by *Amos Weaver*, of Guildford County, North Carolina, delivered in 1829.

“Slavery is a violation of all justice ; and whatever benefit is derived from the slave-trade, &c., to an individual, is derived from dishonour and dishonesty.”—History of Slavery, *Esther Copley*, 1788–1851.

“Slavery as it exists in Virginia, may be regarded as the heaviest calamity which has ever fallen to this portion of the human race.”—*Mr. Moore*, Speech in Virginia Legislature, 1832.

“I consider slavery a curse—a curse to the master—a wrong, a grievous wrong to the slave. In the *abstract*, it is all wrong, and no possible contingency can make it right.”—*Henry Clay*, Kentucky, in Colonization Speech, 1836.

Slavery, “the *dreadful calamity* which has so long afflicted our country, and filled so many with despair.”—*Madison*, Letter to American Colonization Society, 1831.

“We have found that this evil (slavery) has preyed upon the very vitals of the community, and has been prejudicial to *all* the States in which it has existed.”—*Mr. Monroe* (a President of the United States), Speech in Virginia Convention, 1765–1837.

Mr. Wirt, of Virginia, said that “slavery was contrary to the laws of nature and of nations.” In his Life of Patrick Henry, speaking of the different classes in Virginia, he says: “last and lowest, a *feculum* of beings called overseers—the most abject, degraded, unprincipled race—always whip in hand to the dons who employ them, and furnishing materials for their pride, insolence, and love of dominion.”

“That slavery is an evil, and a transcendent evil, it would be more than idle for any human being to doubt or deny. It is a mildew, which has blighted every region it has touched, from the creation of the world. Illustrations from the history of other countries and other times might be instructive; but we have evidence nearer at hand, in the short histories of the different States of this great confederacy, which are impressive in their admonitions, and conclusive in their character.”—Speech of *Mr. Brodnax*, in the Virginia Legislature, 1832.

“Sir, the evils of this system of slavery cannot be enumerated. They glare upon us at every step. When the owner looks to his wasted estate, he knows and feels them. When the statesman examines the condition of his country, and finds her moral influence gone, her physical strength diminished, her political power waning, he sees and must confess them.”—Speech of *Mr. Summers*, in the Legislature of Virginia, 1832.

“The present economy of the slave system is to get all you can from the slave, and give in return as little as will barely support him in a working condition. Even where there is not a direct intention to abridge his comforts, they are but little consulted; and seeing his master wholly engrossed by his own advantage, the slave naturally pursues the same selfish course, and when not restrained by higher principle, becomes deceitful

and thievish. The master takes no pains to conceal that he takes it for granted the negro will steal and lie; and when the slave is tempted to either, he feels that he has no character to lose.”—*Thomas Clay's Address before the Presbytery of Georgia.*

“We have felt it a duty—inexpressibly painful, but still a solemn duty—to lift up our voice from time to time against the wickedness of that system by which three millions of our fellow-creatures are held in slavery, with all its necessary abominations.”—*London Inquirer.*

The following writer informs his readers that he settled on a plantation in Florida, with about fifty negroes, many of whom he brought from the coast of Africa himself. He is one who wants to regulate the evil—not abolish it :—

“As far as regards the free coloured people of the south, the laws are dictated in a spirit of intolerant prejudice, and irresponsible autocracy, holding out, to people they nickname *free*, no reward or premium whatever for being virtuous; nothing to stimulate to industry or the acquisition of a good name, learning, or refinement; no kind of protection either for person or property. Even their punishments must be corporeal—not excepting the most delicate female, whom industry and virtue alone would place at the head of society in any other country. Liberty is merely nominal, without any constitutional protection. They may be sold to pay partial, exorbitant, and tyrannical taxes, or fines, all which are unconstitutional. Oppression is carried to its greatest extreme, when a mother, of most unexceptionable moral character, going out of her native State on account of ill health, is inexorably punished, by perpetual banishment from husband, children, friends, country, and all that is dear to her.* As for our laws to regulate slaves, they are all founded upon terror.”—*Z. Kingsley, on Slavery.*

“The prosperity and aggrandizement of a State is to be seen in its increase of inhabitants, and consequent progress in industry and wealth. Of the vast tide of emigration, which

* Free coloured people, if they go out of the State, for any reason whatsoever, are never allowed to return, lest they should bring back opinions that would make the slaves uneasy.

now rushes like a cataract to the West, not even a trickling rill wends its way to the ancient dominion. Of the multitude of foreigners, who daily seek an asylum and home in the empire of liberty, how many turn their steps to the region of the slave? None. No, not one. There is a malaria in the atmosphere of those regions, which the new-comer shuns, as being deleterious to his views and habits. See the wide-spreading ruin which the avarice of our ancestral government* has produced in the south, as witnessed in a sparse population of freemen, deserted habitations, and fields without culture. Strange to tell, even the wolf, which, driven back long since by the approach of man, now returns, after the lapse of an hundred years, to howl over the desolations of slavery.”—*Mr. Custis, of Virginia.*

“ Eight hundred thousand slaves ! and, what is worse,
 Our slaves ! stolen, bartered, tortured, slain,
 By this unrighteous England ! 'Tis a stain
 Most foul on our escutcheon, and a curse
 Louder than all our glory. Fame ! rehearse
 No more our victories on the land or main ;
 But say we do self-murder, and for gain,
 Which is no gain : that, first of all, we nurse
 An aspic in our bosom, then call down
 (Twice suicides !) the thunderbolts of God,
 Who will not see his meanest creatures trod
 Under the feet of any. Oh ! His frown
 Resteth on England. Patriots ! toil and pray
 That this dark thunderbolt of wrath may pass away.”

—*Rev. William Rawson Taylor, Classical Tutor at Airedale College, 1807-1835.*

“ The national rights of men of all classes, creeds, and colours, should be remedied by all speedy and seasonable means. There does not exist, in nature, in religion, or in civil policy, a reason for robbing any man of his liberty, be he black or white ; that there is neither truth, justice, nor humanity in the declarations

* Those who seek to get rid of the shame of slavery, by throwing the blame on their English ancestors, ought to remember that when the American government was formed, the southern States insisted that no restriction should be put on the importation of slaves for twenty years to come !

they hear; that slavery is consonant to the condition of negro men, has a sanction in nature, or is sanctified by the permission of any Christian church. The fact must be forced on their attention, that slavery has no sanction from their church; that to devote one-fourth part of the habitable globe to perpetual bloodshed and warfare—to give up the vast continent of Africa to the ravages of the man-robbers who deal in flesh and blood—the marauders who sack the towns and villages—the merchant-murderers who ply the odious trade, who separate the child from the mother, the husband from the wife, father from the son, is a monstrous system of cruelty that, in any of its forms, is intolerable and unjust. The state of things of which I speak I have myself seen; and the experience I have alluded to is the result of what I have observed on three occasions that I have visited the United States during the last six years.”—

R. R. Madden, M.D.

“ My generous country ! well didst thou repay
 The direful evil of thine early day,
 By deeds exalted and more glorious far
 Than all thy trophies in the fields of war ;
 First, brightest in the roll of lasting fame,
 Millions of grateful hearts shall bless thy name,
 And shall thy lofty wish be rendered vain,—
 To free the slave and burst his binding chain.”

David Mallock, M.A. (Prize Poem.)

“ As I gazed on these fearful scenes (slave auctions, in which families are separated often never to meet again)—scenes that made me pause, and ask, Was I indeed on earth and among men, or was I surrounded by fiends ? I felt what no words can express; my heart was hot within me, and it was with the utmost difficulty that I could repress the fiery indignation that burned and glowed within my soul.”—*Rev. Francis Bishop, Liverpool (written from America), 1852.*

“ Is it nothing to us, that seventeen hundred thousand of the people of our country, are doomed illegally to the most abject and vile slavery that was ever tolerated on the face of the earth? Are Carolinians deaf to the piercing cries of humanity? Are they insensible to the demands of justice? Let any man of spirit and feeling, for a moment cast his thoughts over the

land of slavery ; think of the nakedness of some, the hungry yearnings of others, the flowing tears and heaving sighs of parting relations, the wailings of lamentation and woe ; the bloody cut of the keen lash, and the frightful scream that rends the very skies,—and all this to gratify ambition, lust, pride, avarice, vanity, and other depraved feelings of the human heart. Too long has our country been unfortunately lulled to sleep, feeding on the golden dreams of superficial politicians, fanciful poets, and anniversary orations. *The worst is not generally known.* Were all the miseries, the horrors of slavery, to burst at once into view, a peal of sevenfold thunder could scarce strike greater alarm.”—Address of *B. Swain*, of North Carolina, in 1830.

“The difficulty is no reason why steps should not be taken in a right direction, and some method put in practice, whereby this horrid and criminal usage [slavery] may be gradually obliterated, and this stain on a free and noble people wiped out.”—*Colonel Conyngham*, a British Canadian officer.

Mr. Huskisson, secretary of state for the colonial department, in 1828, quoted approvingly, in the House of Commons, the following words of the enlightened Mr. Canning :—

“There is something in the nature of absolute authority, in the relation between master and slave, which makes despotism, in all cases, and under all circumstances.” &c.

“Slavery, it is admitted, is an evil. It is an institution which presses heavily against the best interests of the State. It banishes free white labour—it exterminates the mechanic—the artizan—the manufacturer. It converts the energy of a community into indolence—its power into imbecility—its efficiency into weakness. Being thus injurious, have we not a right to demand its extermination? Shall society suffer, that the slave-holder may continue to gather his *vigintial crop* of human flesh? What is his mere pecuniary claim, compared with the great interests of the commonweal? Must the country languish and die that the slave-holder may flourish? Shall all interests be subservient to one? Have not the middle classes their rights—rights incompatible with the existence of slavery? If there be one who concurs with the gentleman from Brunswick, in

considering the character of this institution harmless, let me request him to compare the condition of the slave-holding portion of this commonwealth—barren, desolate, and seared as it were by the avenging hand of Heaven—with the description which we have of this same country from those who first broke its virgin soil. To what is this change ascribable? Alone to the withering and blasting effects of slavery. To that vice, in the organization of society, by which one-half its inhabitants are arrayed in interest and feeling against the other half—to that condition of things, in which half a million of your population can feel no sympathy with society, in the prosperity of which they are forbidden to participate, and no attachment to a government at whose hands they receive nothing but injustice.”

—*Mr. Faulkner's Speech in the Legislature of Virginia, 1832.*

The Rev. H. Marsh, rector of one of the parishes of Birmingham, opposed slavery, by making several able speeches against it, embracing a most masterly and comprehensive view of the question.

About the year 1830, G. H. Ward, Esq., the British envoy at Mexico, communicated to government a most interesting report of the successful introduction into that extensive district of the cultivation of sugar by free labour, and the total abolition of slavery. This was justly stated as a proof that a change from slavery to freedom was not only without ruin to the colony, but of decided advantage.

“That slavery is sinful, not only in its own abuse, but in its own nature, is evident from its practical results. Two of these are in themselves amply sufficient to prove my case.

“The first is the dreadful licentiousness which notoriously prevails in the slave states, not merely among the negroes themselves, but more especially between whites and blacks. Here, indeed, amalgamation speeds its course without reserve, and in a criminal form. An institution which constantly leads to this result—under which fathers are sometimes known to bequeath or sell their own children—must needs be, *in itself*, a desperate moral evil.

“The second result alluded to is *compulsory ignorance*. Evil in its root—incurably evil—opposed to the will of an intelli-

gent and benevolent Creator—and deadly in its moral tendency, must be a system which shuts out half or two-thirds of the population of a state from ever sipping at the fountain of knowledge, and which proclaims to a multitudinous rising generation the stern decree, ‘ You shall never be taught to read the Bible.’”—*Joseph John Gurney*.

“ Slavery is sinful in its origin, sinful in its effects, sinful in its continuance, and sinful eternally.”—*Rev. Dr. Andrew Thomson*, 1779–1831.

“ Those who traffic in human flesh and blood, and those who legalize or connive at such traffic, all these are *man-stealers*.”

“ In heathen countries, slavery was in some sort excusable; among Christians, it is an enormity and a crime, for which perdition has scarcely an adequate state of punishment. I here register my testimony against the unprincipled, inhuman, anti-christian, and diabolical slave-trade, with all its authors, promoters, abettors, and sacrilegious gains; as well as against the devil, the father of it and them.”

Dr. Clarke in another place, declared that “ Slavery was cursed at both ends, and had the malediction of God Almighty in the centre.”—*Rev. Dr. Adam Clarke*, 1760–1832.

“ Slavery is a system made up of every crime that treachery, cruelty, and murder can invent.”

“ Men-stealers are the very worst of thieves. The most knavish tricks are practised by these dealers in human flesh; and if slaves think of our general character, they must suppose that Christians are devils, and that Christianity was forged in hell.”—*Rev. Rowland Hill*, 1744–1833.

“ Slavery is the greatest crime and stain upon humanity—an insult to God—an unadulterated atheism, for one human being to claim property in another. A slaveholder is an incarnate monster—a concentration in himself of all human villany.”—*George Thompson, M.P.*, 1851.

“ What, ho! *our countrymen* in chains!
The whip on *woman's* shrinking flesh!
Our soil yet reddening with the stains,
Caught from her scourging, warm and fresh!

What! mothers from their children riven!
 What! God's own image bought and sold?
Americans to market driven,
 And bartered, as the brute, for gold!
 Speak! shall their agony of prayer
 Come thrilling to our hearts in vain?
 To us whose fathers scorn'd to bear
 The paltry *menace* of a chain;
 To us, whose boast is loud and long
 Of holy Liberty and Light—
 Say, shall these writhing slaves of wrong,
 Plead vainly for their plundered right?"

John G. Whittier (American Poet).

"I reserve for the last topic of animadversion the crowning evil—the capital danger—the mortal plague-spot—slavery. Whilst it lasts, it must continue, in addition to the actual amount of suffering and wrong which it entails on the enslaved, to operate with terrible reaction on the dominant class, to blunt the moral sense, to sap domestic virtue, to degrade independent industry, to check the onward march of enterprize, to sow the seeds of suspicion, alarm, and vengeance, in both internal and external intercourse, to distract the national councils, to threaten the permanence of the Union, and to leave a brand, a byeword, and a jest upon the name of Freedom."—*The Earl of Carlisle's Travels in America*, published in 1851. (Lord Morpeth.)

"It is the double curse of slavery to degrade all concerned with it, doing or suffering. The slave is the lowest in the scale of human beings, *except the slave-dealer.*"—*Montgomery.*

"God made all His creatures free,
 Life itself is liberty :
 God ordained no other bands,
 Than united hearts and hands."—*Montgomery.*

"We abhor and denounce that iniquitous system of slavery, which disgraces and desolates so many regions of the civilized world."—*The Earl of Shaftesbury*, 1852. (Lord Ashley.)

"By sophistry, evil habits, neglect, *impostures of an anti-christian priesthood*, joined in one conspiracy with the virulence of tyrannical governors, the understandings of men may

become so darkened, and their consciences so lethargic, that a necessity arises for the republication of self-evident truths, and this, too, with a voice of loud alarm and impassioned warning. Such were the truths with which *Thomas Clarkson*, and his excellent confederates, conquered the legalized banditti of man-stealers—the numerous and powerful perpetrators of rapine, murder, and (worse than either) slavery!"—*Coleridge*.

" We have offended, Oh ! my countrymen !
 We have offended very grievously,
 And been most tyrannous. From east to west
 A groan of accusation pierces Heaven !
 The wretched plead against us ; multitudes,
 Countless and vehement, the sons of God,
 Our brethren !" —*Coleridge*, 1797—1849.

" The holding of human beings in a state of slavery, is in direct opposition to all the principles of natural right and the benign spirit of the gospel of Christ." —*Wesleyan Conference*, England.

" The gentleman has appealed to the Christian religion in justification of slavery. I would ask him upon what part of those pure doctrines does he rely ? to which of those sublime precepts does he advert to sustain his position ? Is it that which teaches charity, justice, and good-will to all ? Or is it that which teaches, ' Do ye unto others as ye would they should do unto you ? ' " —*Thomas J. Randolph*, Virginia, United States.

" Men-stealers are inserted among those daring criminals against whom the law of God directed its curses. These kidnapped men to sell them for slaves ; and this practice seems inseparable from the other iniquities and oppressions of slavery ; nor can a slave-dealer keep free from this criminality, if ' the receiver be as bad as the thief.' " —*Rev. Thomas Scott* (author of the celebrated Family Bible).

" O ye Heavens, be kind !
 And feel, thou Earth, for this afflicted race !"
Wordsworth, 1802.

" The lot is wretched, the condition sad,
 Whether a pining discontent survive,

And thirst for change ; or habit hath subdued
 The soul depressed ; dejected—even to love
 Of her dull tasks and close captivity.”—*Wordsworth.*

“ All slaves in the British Colonies, shall become and be to all intents and purposes, free and discharged, from and of all manner of slavery, and slavery is hereby for ever abolished, and declared unlawful.”—*Act of the British Parliament, 3d and 4th William IV. cap. 73, clause 12.*

“ The churches of America have almost universally connived at this gross outrage on justice and religion ; and in some instances, instead of exercising the highest censures of the church, as it was their duty to do, have cast the shield of their protection over the unrighteous dealer in slaves. You are no doubt aware that the Christians of Britain have felt themselves called upon to enter into a solemn compact, to refuse the privileges of Christian fellowship to any members of your churches, who may be participators in the crime of slavery, either by practising it themselves or conniving at it in others.”

—*From an Address to the Christian Churches of the United States, from the Belfast Anti-Slavery Society, 1841.*

Recommend “ to all people under their care, to use the most prudent measures, consistent with the interest and the state of civil society, to procure eventually the final abolition of slavery in America.”—*Address of the Presbyterian Church in the United States.*

“ My ear is pained,
 My soul is sick with every day’s report
 Of wrong and outrage, with which this earth is filled.
 There is no flesh in man’s obdurate heart,
 It does not feel for man.”—*Cowper.*

Captain Riley, an American writer, says in his *Narrative* :—“ Strange as it may seem to the philanthropist, my free and proud-spirited countrymen still hold a million and a half of human beings in the most cruel bonds of slavery ; who are kept in hard labour, and smarting under the lash of inhuman mercenary drivers ; in many instances enduring the miseries of hunger, thirst, imprisonment, cold, nakedness, and even tortures. This is no picture of the imagination. I myself have

witnessed such scenes ; and the bare recollection of them now chills my blood with horror.”

When Necker wrote his famous book on French finances, he suggested a universal compact of nations to suppress the slave-trade.

The Duchess of Devonshire wrote verses in favour of freedom, and caused them to be set to music. Wherever these lines were sung some hearts were touched by them in favour of the oppressed.

“ Slavery is so inconsistent with free institutions, and the spirit of liberty is so contagious under such institutions, that the system must either be given up, or sustained by laws outrageously severe ; hence we find our slave laws have each year been growing more harsh than those of any other nation. What must the system be that *requires* to be supported by such unnatural, such tyrannical means ! The very apology pronounces the condemnation of slavery—for it proves that it cannot exist without producing boundless misery to the oppressed and perpetual terror to the oppressor.”—*Lydia Maria Child.*

In a lecture on slavery, delivered at the Music Hall, Newcastle-on-Tyne, in 1833, by the Rev. John Jackson of Hebden Bridge, the lecturer closed by an earnest and impassioned appeal to the Christian principles and humane feeling of his audience, and an exhortation to vigilance, firmness, and perseverance, in seeking the earliest possible and entire extinction of negro slavery.

“ How long shall men by Christ redeemed,
As beasts of burden be esteemed ;
And those by grace Divine renewed,
Be doomed to hopeless servitude.

“ How long the heavens shall Avarice brave,
Scorning God’s image in the slave,
While woman’s rights and mother’s ties,
The ruthless men of gold despise.

“ To the same body all belong—
We mourn with those who suffer wrong ;
What though of different hue and race,
Brethren by blood, co-heirs of grace,

Our prayers, our sympathy they claim ;—
Their wrongs our sin, their bonds our shame."

Josiah Conder.

"As the throne of God is above every earthly throne, so are his laws and statutes above all the laws and statutes of man. To question these, is to question God himself. But to assume that human laws are beyond question, is to claim for their fallible authors infallibility." — From Speech of the *Hon. Charles Sumner*, in the Senate of the United States, August, 1852.

In referring to slavery, Daniel Webster says, "The literature of the world is against us." — *Daniel Webster*, Senator of the United States of America, 1781–1852.

"As a Virginian, I do not question the master's title to his slaves; but I put it to the gentleman as a *man*, as a *moral man*, as a *Christian man*, whether he has not some doubt of his claim being as absolute and unqualified as that of other property? I acknowledge I tremble for the fate of my country at some future day, unless we 'do something.'" — From the speech of *J. A. Chandler*, Virginia, United States.

"You may place the slave where you please—you may dry up to your utmost the fountain of his feelings, the springs of his thoughts—you may close upon his mind every avenue to knowledge, and cloud it over with artificial night—you may yoke him to labour as an ox which liveth only to work, and worketh only to live—you may put him under any process, which, without destroying his value as a slave, will debase and crush him as a rational being—you may do this, and the idea that he was born free will survive it all. It is allied to his hopes of immortality—it is the eternal part of his nature, which oppression cannot reach—it is a torch lit up in his soul by the hand of the Deity, and never meant to be extinguished by the hand of man." — *James G. M'Dowell*, Justice of Virginia, United States.

"There is a 'still small voice' which speaks to the heart of man in a tone too clear and distinct to be disregarded. It tells him that every system of slavery is based upon injustice and oppression. If gentlemen disregard it now, and lull their con-

sciences to sleep, they may be aroused to a sense of their danger when it is too late to repair their errors.”—*P. A. Bolling, Virginia, United States.*

“The manner in which the duty of servants is inculcated, affords no ground for the assertion that the gospel authorizes one man to hold another in bondage, any more than the command to turn the other cheek, justifies the infliction of violence.”—*President Wayland, of Brown University, Rhode Island.*

“Slaveholding is a violation of natural justice.”—*James G. Birney.*

“Slavery is a sin that includes all manner of iniquity.”—*Rev. Thos. Swan.*

“Slavery is a heinous crime against the laws of God and man.”—*Rev. Wm. James.*

“If you declare that a certain thing is a sin, a great sin, and a great violation of Christian principle, I cannot understand how you can help drawing the inference, that a person living in that sin must be subject to church discipline.”—*Rev. Thos. Binney.*

“Modern slavery bears no analogy to the slavery of those times (when Christ and the apostles were on earth). It is incompatible with Christianity.”—*Rev. John Angell James.*

“Slavery is a system of the grossest injustice, of the most heathenish irreligion and immorality, of the most unprecedented degradation and unrelenting cruelty.” “Never, in the history of any people, was the righteous retribution of the holy and living God more distinctly marked than in the manifold evils which now trouble America, for her treatment of the African race. Like all other sinful courses, it has brought in, day by day, confusion and entanglement into all the relations of those contaminated by it.”—*Wilberforce, Bishop of Oxford.*

“Slavery is a sin against God, and that is a sinful church which sanctions it.”—*Rev. J. Burnett.*

“Of the many features which American slavery presents, the most cruel is that of the slave-trade. “This heart-rending

and cruel traffic is not confined to any particular class of persons. No person forfeits his or her character, or standing in society, by being engaged in raising and selling slaves to supply the cotton, sugar, and rice plantations of the south."

"This trade presents some of the most revolting and atrocious scenes that can be imagined."—*William Wells Brown*, 1848.

"Shall we now

Silently see our sisters bound in chains,—
Heaven's holiest ties polluted,—their souls sunk
In ignorance,—degraded to the brutes ?
Shall we behold them on the hated block,
Sold to the highest bidder,—and not speak ?

Mary Carpenter. 1848.

"There is a law above all enactments of human codes : it is a law written by the finger of God on the heart of man ; and by that law of God, unchangeable and eternal, while men despise fraud, and loathe rapine, and abhor bloodshed, they shall reject with indignation the wild and guilty phantasy, that man can hold property in man."—*Lord Brougham* in 1830.

"Domestic slavery is contrary to the rights of mankind; opposed to the fundamental principles of free government; inconsistent with a state of sound morality; hostile to the prosperity of the commonwealth."—*R. J. Breckenridge, D.D.*

"Every effort should be made to put a stop to a trade so disgraceful to every human being or nation concerned in its encouragement."—*Bishop of Norwich*, Stanley, 1848.

"The whole tenor of the Christian system is so directly opposed to the very idea of slavery, that it is a matter of astonishment how any persons calling themselves Christians can suffer themselves to be participators in its support.

"We have long been persuaded, from an intimate acquaintance with, and personal examination of most of the West Indies, that not only would the slaves be made more happy, and consequently less dangerous, by *immediate* emancipation; but that the planters themselves would, in the end, find it to their benefit to grant emancipation *at once*, substituting free labour for slave labour throughout their estates, when they

would find that the maxim is as mutually beneficial as it is strictly just, which says, ‘The labourer is worthy of his hire.’” —*J. S. Buckingham, M.P.*, in Oriental Herald, 1825.

“No matter under whatever specious term it disguises itself, slavery is still hideous. It has a natural and inevitable tendency to brutalize every noble faculty in man. My deliberate opinion is, that until the system is abolished, *no slaveholder ought to be received on a footing of equality by any of the civilized inhabitants of Europe.*”

“Of all men living, an American citizen, who is the owner of slaves, is the most despicable. He is a *political hypocrite* of the very worst description. I am an abolitionist; I am for speedy, immediate abolition. I care not what caste, creed, or colour slavery may assume; whether it be personal or political, mental or corporeal, intellectual or spiritual, I am for its immediate abolition. I enter no compromise with slavery; I am for justice in the name of humanity, and according to the laws of the living God.” —*Daniel O’Connell, M.P.*, 1779–1847.

“Pope Gregory, in 1839, the ninth year of his pontificate, issued a bull for the abolition of the slave-trade, from which the following extracts are made:—‘We regard, as a duty, that we endeavour to turn aside our faithful flocks entirely from the inhuman traffic in negroes, or any other human beings whatsoever. The trade in blacks, though diminished to some extent, is still carried on by many Christians; wherefore we, desiring to avert this disgrace from the whole confines of Christianity, having summoned several of the cardinals, and having maturely deliberated on the whole matter, pursuing the footsteps of our predecessors, admonish, and urgently invoke, in the name of God, all Christians, of whatever condition, that none henceforth dare to subject to slavery, unjustly persecute, or despoil of their goods, Indian negroes or other classes of men, or be accessories to others, or furnish their aid or assistance in so doing; and on no account to exercise that inhuman traffic by which negroes are reduced to slavery, as if they were not men, but automata or chattels, and are sold in defiance of all the laws of justice and humanity, and devoted to severe and intolerable labours. We further reprobate, by our apos-

tolical authority, all the above-described offences as utterly unworthy of the Christian name."

"It is inconsistent for any man, professing the Christian religion, to be either a slave-owner, or in any way identified with slavery.

"Slavery is inconsistent with the Gospel terms of church-fellowship. That man who participates in it is not a fit subject for church-fellowship."—*Rev. William Knibb, Jamaica.*

"The man who makes a chattel of his brother—what is he? The man who keeps back the hire of his labourers by fraud—what is he? They who prohibit the circulation of the Bible—what are they? They who compel two millions of men and women to herd together, like brute beasts—what are they? They who sell mothers by the pound ; and children in lots to suit purchasers—what are they ? I care not what terms are applied to them, provided they *do* apply. If they are not thieves, if they are not tyrants, if they are not men-stealers, I should like to know what is their true character, and by what names they may be called."—*William Lloyd Garrison, Boston, United States, 1848.*

"They tell me some are born to bondage and disgrace,

Some to a heritage of woe and shame,

And some to power supreme and glorious fame.

With my whole soul I spurn this doctrine base,

And, as an equal brotherhood, embrace

All people, and for all fair freedom claim !

Know this, O man ! whate'er thy earthly fate—

God never made a tyrant, nor a slave :

Woe, then, to those who dare to desecrate

His glorious image !—for to all he gave

Eternal rights, which none may violate ;

And by a mighty hand the oppress'd He yet shall save."

William Lloyd Garrison.

"Freedom, the boon of God on high ;

For—ever—where His Spirit dwells,

There must be liberty !

That Spirit breaks each galling yoke—

Fetters of cruel thrall,

The brand's impress, the scourge's stroke,

It loathes, laments them all."—*Bernard Barton, 1848.*

“ It is in truth a loathsome trade,
 A sordid traffic—to abhor ;
 Of which one feels ashamed, afraid,
 With which our nature is at war ;
 For which no prayer can soar above,
 Unto that God whose name is Love !”

Bernard Barton.

“ Slavery is a system which no man can contemplate without shuddering—a system which puts a man into the power of his master, to be used by him as he will, only his life being preserved: to be sold by him, whenever he will, and to whomsoever he pleases: to have his wife and children taken from him at the pleasure of another—the wife that is dear to him as yours is to you—the children that are as precious to him as yours are to you, or mine to me. It is a system that forbids its subjects to be taught to read or write; that debars him from accumulation and progress—making all he acquires the property of his master; that takes away the Bible by legislative authority.”—Published sermon by *Rev. R. S. Storrs, jun.,* of Brooklyn, New York.

“ To pass from the shores of a free land to a country of slaves and slave-dealers, is like being replunged from the civilization of the nineteenth century into the darkest ages of paganism. Whatever the crimes and ills of other kinds, which outrage the laws of modern society, the sight of human beings being put up for open and legalized sale, whether it occur in the Barbary States, in the United States of America, or on the coast of Africa, offers to view one stage of barbarism to which the most debased condition of humanity elsewhere affords no parallel.”—*Rev. Pascoe Grenfell Hill, R.N.*

“ Oh Afric ! who with guilt and wrongs art laded,
 Thy foes are from without and from within ;
 They who should pity, leave thee more degraded,
 And say, ‘ The cup is thine for Canaan’s sin.’

Do they not know, in Israel’s persecution,
 When stricken sorely, for her sins were ripe,
 The nations met a seven-fold retribution,
 Because they went beyond the destined stripe ?

And what shall be *their* curse, who while pretending
 No dread commission from the Judge above,
 The bonds of brotherhood are fiercely rending,
 And trampling on Christ's new commandment—love!"

Third Prize Poem, by *E. M.*

"It is impossible to speak of slavery without, at the same time, recognizing the fact, that its establishment among a people is at once a stain and a calamity."—*Gustave de Beaumont*, 1835.

"The spectacle of an entire race of men crushed, basely, cruelly, by the men of a republic, is the most odious, the most fatal ever beheld.

"The oppression of a single man is a crime against the whole human race."—*Victor Schelcher*, 1851.

"The choice of the people threatens to rivet the chains of slavery and the leprosy of sin permanently on this nation, through the annexation of Texas!"—*Margaret Fuller*, 1844.

"O ye who can sever the bands of the slave,
 Whose shores have been ever the home of the brave ;
 O Britons ! arouse you, your strong help we crave,
 Once more espouse you the cause of the slave."

William Stokes.

"If there is a living being in the United States who does not lament and shudder at this scourge of humanity, he is dead not only to the voice of conscience and of patriotism, but to the sense of shame and the honour of his country. The grand moral lesson which the United States is reading to the world is neutralized, nay, converted into a bitter mockery of reason, by slavery; and in every part of Europe where I have travelled is this deplorable truth known and lamented by the good, but hailed with pleasure, and pointed to with triumph by the oppressor and his tools."—*George Combe*, 1845.

"Slavery is interwoven throughout our country into so much with which we have to do, that we may well acknowledge we are all, all 'verily guilty concerning our brother.' There is, therefore, the greater responsibility that we first examine ourselves, and ascertain what there is for us to do, in order that

we may speedily rid ourselves of the great evil that is clinging to us. *Evil?*—this mighty *sin* which so easily besets us.”—*Lucretia Mott*, Philadelphia, 1849.

“ When will Columbia, in her might,
 Rise like a giant from her sleep,
 And give the slave his long-lost right,
 And cast his fetters in the deep ? ..
 Alas ! that such a beauteous land,
 So vast, so fertile, so sublime,
 Should wear upon her front the brand
 And impress of so dark a crime !”

J. S. Buckingham, M.P., 1847.

Napoleon Bonaparte issued a decree for the immediate and total abolition of the French slave-trade; a decree which Louis XVIII. did not reverse.

“Dr. Leonard Bacon, in his *Essays on Slavery*, admits that the ‘holding of a slave’ is *prima facie* evidence against the slave-holder, ‘and puts upon him the burden of showing that he is actually loving mercy, doing justly, and walking humbly before God.’ That is, the coerced service of the perpetual bondman, exacted and enforced without any alleged crime, for the sole benefit of the owner, who exercises over him an irresponsible power, and claims in him the right of property.”—*Rev. Benj. Godwin, Eng. Proc. A. S. Con. 1840, p. 47.*

“Enslaving men is reducing them to articles of property—making free agents chattels—converting persons into things. A slave is one held in this condition. In law, ‘he owns nothing, and can acquire nothing.’ His right to himself is abrogated. If he says ‘My hands,’ ‘My body,’ ‘My mind,’ ‘Myself,’ they are figures of speech. To use himself for his own good is a crime. To keep what he earns is stealing. To take his body into his own keeping is insurrection. In a word, the profit of his master is made the end of his being, and he is a mere means to that end—a mere means to an end into which his interests do not enter, of which they constitute no portion.”—*Theodore Weld, United States.*

Slavery.—“A system which classes with the beasts of the field, over whom dominion has been given to man, an intelligent

and accountable being, the instant that his Creator has breathed into his nostrils the breath of life. Day after day, and year after year, he is driven to the cotton or sugar fields, as the ox to the furrow. No hope of reward lightens his toil; the subject of insult, the victim of brutality, *the laws of his country afford him no redress.* His mind, stupified by his oppressors, is wrapped in darkness; his soul, no man careth for it; his body, worn with stripes and toil, is at length committed to the earth, like the brute that perisheth.”—*Judge Jay*, United States.

Effects of slavery on slaveholders:—“It violates every man’s notions of right; by his constant familiar opposition to revelation, where it thwarts his views and practices, he becomes at length an infidel.”—*Judge Stroud*, United States.

“It is in vain for me to plead that I have sanction of law for holding slaves, for this makes the injury the greater—it arms the community against the slave, and makes his case desperate. The owners of slaves are *licensed robbers.*”—*J. Price*, Kentucky, United States.

Rev. J. H. Johnson (in Gen. A. S. Con. 1840) argued that the slave-trade, “is positively and certainly condemned by name in the New Testament.” He refers to Eustathius and to Bishop Horsley in corroboration of this statement. “If then,” he says, “the dealers in men were placed in the same category of criminals with murderers of fathers, and murderers of mothers, by St. Paul, what must be the fate of the person *who makes a market for slaves?*”—*Rev. J. H. Johnson*.

“It is a fair conclusion, therefore, that if Christianity would abolish slavery, it is sinful. It demonstrates the point before us, that it is contrary to the Bible, and cannot be defended from the Word of God.” “It is for the Christian church to cease all connection with slavery.” “There is no power *out of* the church that could sustain slavery an hour, if it were not sustained *in it.*”—*Rev. Albert Barnes*, United States.

“Slavery in America is a great religious, social, and political wrong.”—*Rev. M. Jeffrey’s Speech at Glasgow (1851).*

“Slavery in the United States involves one characteristic which inconceivably augments its hideous enormity, and

renders its criminality most heinous. The foundation and stronghold of man-stealers are in the churches. Whatever may have been its unutterable wickedness in the West India islands, there it never was baptized with the Redeemer's hallowed name; and its corruptions were not concealed in the garb of religion. The acme of piratical turpitude was reserved for the professed disciples of Jesus in America.”—*Eclectic Review*.

“ Slave-holding is unjustifiable ; it is both a mistake and a crime. Slave-making is still more atrocious ; and is, to all intents and purposes, even a worse crime than murder.”—*Illustrated London News*.

“ The slave-trade is a huge conspiracy against a portion of the human family.”—*Nautical Standard*.

“ The kidnapper, the slave-trader, the slave-holder, the merchant, the manufacturer, the shopkeeper, and the consumer, occupy their several places in the mighty fabric of wrong ; but the *consumer* represents the corner-stone—without it the building would fall.”—*Samuel Rhoads*, Editor of the *Non-Slave-holder*, 8th Month, 1850, Philadelphia, United States.

“ When the blood
Thou pourest now, so warm along our veins,
Shall westward flow, till Mississippi’s flood
Gives to our children’s children his broad plains,
Ne’er let them wear, O God, or forge a bondman’s chains ! ”

John Pierpont, 1840.

“ There is one enormous delinquency, one great national disgrace, which mars her beauty, and paralyses her moral influence. *America is the land of Slaves!* The very soil on which her capital stands is moistened with the tears and the blood of the slave. The wailings of the broken-hearted captive, the shrieks of the bereaved slave-mother, the clank of the chain, the sound of the lash, mingled with the curses of the slave-dealer, resound without the walls of that very Senate-house, which within is ringing with the loud panegyric of universal freedom. The world stands aghast to hear that every sixth man, woman, and child in the United States is a slave ! that a thriving trade in human flesh and blood is carried on ; that fortunes are realized by breeding slaves ; and livings obtained by their prostitu-

tion ; and these in America—the enlightened, the free, the brave, who crushes beneath her feet, in hopeless and bitter bondage, three millions of human beings.

“America cannot possibly appreciate the effects of this enormous inconsistency on the freedom and happiness of the world in general.”—*Rev. B. Godwin*, 1840.

“I should, under no political necessity whatever, support for the Presidency any man who did not regard human slavery as an unmixed evil, and who was not willing, promptly but prudently, to use the full constitutional power of the government to abolish it.”—*John Van Buren*, Aug. 6, 1849.

“Yonder, upon a throne made of the affections of the planters, in the face of an indignant and offended God, sits slavery, horrible as a hag of hell. Her face is brass ; her heart is stone ; her head is iron, with which she wrings from the multiplied sufferings and labours of the poor negroes the wealth by which she is clothed in purple and fine linen, and fareth sumptuously every day ; watching with unslumbering jealousy every ray that would enlighten the darkness of her kingdom, and frowning indignantly on every finger that would disturb the stability of her throne.”—*Elihu Burritt*.

“The sooner the evil (slavery) be stopped the better. ‘The foulest sin against God and man.’ Right, justice, the law of God, and the highest interests of man, demand an immediate remedy for the enormous evil.”—*Edward Baines*, Editor of the *Leeds Mercury*, 1852.

“No stronger proof of the absurdity of slavery can be demanded than this history—[the Narrative of Bibb, an escaped slave].”—*New York Tribune*.

“We defy any man to think with any patience or tolerance of slavery, after reading Bibb’s Narrative, unless he is one of those infidels to nature who float on the race as monsters, from it, but not of it.”—*The Chronotype*, an American paper.

“I cannot, O my brethren, check that one absorbing thought, |
That on your soil of liberty, your fellows’ blood is bought !
That millions of our human race your chains and bondage hold !
That, like the cattle of the field, that human race is sold !”

What boots your blazon'd motto, ' All men are equal, free,'
 When thus to vilest tyranny ye bend your helot knee ?
 O, cast for ever from your shores this foul blot on your name,
 Nor let your spangled banner wave, at once your boast and shame !

Fulfil your glorious mission, and future ages well
 May point for you a brighter path, a fairer record tell ;
 Stand forth amid the nations ! Diffuse the light God gave !
 Deliverance to the captive one ! aye, freedom to the slave ! ”

W. H. Patching.

“ Negroes—The most benighted and most injured people on the face of the globe.”—*Rev. S. W. Hanna*, Jamaica.

“ It is the hardest task to suppress indignation, in reference to a system which can possibly lead to such monstrous results.”

“ We are all too indifferent to the wrongs of the slave. We do not make his case our own. We do not feel for those in bonds as bound with them. There is a lamentable lack of proper Christian sympathy.”—*New York Evangelist.*

“ Slavery withers up every moral feeling, and degrades man, the image of his God. So long as one black brother bleeds in chains—so long as one man has property in another—to the great work of emancipation we would summon the fire of youth, the wisdom of old age, the tenderness of woman, and the strength of man. We ask all England, as with one voice, to denounce the slaveholder, and to reprobate his horrid crime.”

—*John Cassels*, London, 1852.

“ Facts show the most horrid characteristics of slavery. It blots out the intellect, and reduces man, created in the image of his God, to the level of brutes.”—*Mr. Giddings*, of Ohio. Speech in American Congress, 1848.

“ Slavery, under all circumstances, is a moral evil and a sin against God.”—Resolutions at a Conference of the Free Protestant Methodist Church, Indiana.

“ Slavery may well be called ‘ a peculiar institution ; ’ for in its principles and workings it has no parallel, in heaven above, or in the earth beneath. That will be a glorious day for our country which shall witness its peaceful overthrow.”—*New York Tribune.*

"Supposing that negroes differ in all the alleged respects from the whites, the difference is not such as to justify the whites making property of them, and treating them with cruelty. The tendency of slavery is to keep down, at nearly the level of brutes, beings who might be brightened into intellectual and moral beauty."—Chambers' (Editors of the *Edinburgh Journal*.)

"Slavery is one of the greatest evils of the world."—*J. Passmore Edwards*, Editor of the *Biographical Magazine*.

"Virginia is impoverished by the system of slavery."—*John Randolph*, of Roanoke (an American statesman).

"I am filled with unutterable loathing when I contemplate the religious pomp and show, together with the horrible inconsistencies, which coexist in the Slave States. They have men-stealers for ministers, women-whippers for missionaries, and cradle-plunderers for church members. The man who wields the blood-clotted cow's hide during the week fills the pulpit on Sunday, and claims to be a minister of the meek and lowly Jesus. The man who robs me of my earnings at the end of each week meets me as a class-leader on Sunday morning, to show me the way of life and the path of salvation. He who sells my sister for purposes of prostitution, stands forth as the pious advocate of purity. We see the thief preaching against theft, and the adulterer against adultery. We have men sold to build churches, women sold to support the gospel, and babes sold to purchase Bibles for the *poor heathen! all for the glory of God, and the good of souls!*"—*Frederick Douglass*, Rochester, United States of America.

Such is the language of Frederick Douglass. Nor can we wonder at it. The man who thus could speak—whose utterance is full of power and truth—yet in America was a slave, the property of another—sold, or whipped, or shot at his master's will. In the fullness of intellectual might, he stood upon the British platform before thousands, who listened and admired, while he pleaded his rights as a man. He who had been whipped by the brutal slave-breaker as if he were a beast—his genius and eloquence won the applause of British audiences. In America, the boasted land of freedom; priding

itself upon its Declaration of Independence ; its doctrine of equality ; its free political institutions ; its love of universal liberty ; its religious life and light ; there Douglass was a slave. No wonder, then, that he was eloquent. So monstrous a wrong might make even the dumb speak. On another occasion Douglass writes :—

“ The slave is a thing—and it is the all-commanding duty of the American people to make him a man. To demand this in the name of humanity, and of God, is the solemn duty of every living soul. To demand less than this, or anything else than this, is to deceive the fettered bondman, and to soothe the conscience of the slaveholder on the very point where he should be most stung with remorse and shame.”—*Frederick Douglass, 1848.*

“ This mammoth evil, slavery, is greater than any other evil that ever existed among men, and involves more guilt than any other crime ever committed by men. The evil has a magnitude which my powers cannot describe ; and the guilt a blackness which can never be painted, except by a pencil dipped in the midnight of the bottomless pit.”—*Charles Fitch, pastor of a Congregational Church in Boston, America.*

“ Sad sons of Afric ! injured negro race !

Allured, enchain'd, and sold for brutal toil ! ”

Rev. Thomas Timpson.

“ It is admitted by nearly all in these States, so far as I know, that slavery is an anomaly in this free country ; a political and moral deformity, which we ought to remove as soon as it may be done with safety to the mutual welfare of whites and blacks. . . . Both in East Virginia and West Virginia the conviction is spreading, that slavery must be removed before the country can prosper. . . . The public discussion of it, heretofore suppressed, has been partially begun, and cannot be hereafter stopped.”—*Henry Ruffner, D.D., of Virginia.*

“ The admission of caste, slaveholding, polygamy, and such like sins into churches gathered in Christian or heathen lands, as it is a violation of the rules of God's house, has been, as might have been expected, productive only of evil.”—*Professor Whipple.*

Speaking of the Convention which formed the Constitution and Government of the United States, Madison says—"Having come out of a seven years' war, undertaken to maintain the principle, that all men are created equal, they thought it wrong to admit the idea that man could hold property in man."—*James Madison, President of the United States, 1750–1836.*

"The total abolition of slavery is now identical with the propagation of Christianity. It deserves the whole energy of our minds, and it must ultimately triumph, as the cause of Christ himself."—An Abolitionist in Edinburgh, 1845.

"We, in an enlightened age, have greatly surpassed in brutality and injustice the most ignorant and barbarous ages; and while we are pretending to the finest feelings of humanity, are exercising unprecedented cruelty. We have planted slavery in the rank soil of sordid avarice; and the produce has been misery in the extreme."—*Elias Hicks.*

"The [American] nation at large is deeply culpable, because their cruel treatment of the African race is not only utterly repugnant to all the principles of natural justice, and the revealed Word of God, but to their own Republican Constitution, which emphatically and truly declares that all men are created 'free and equal.' While the capital continues to be a slave-mart, and the clank of the slave's chains is heard within sound of the walls of Congress, it turns into derision all the proud declarations about liberty and the rights of man that are uttered within."—*W. T. Blair, late Mayor of Bath, &c.*

"To buy and sell a man who was originally stolen, and who is still retained and punished without a crime, is a violation of the first and most essential principles of eternal justice."—*Dr. Morison.*

"There is no vice too loathsome—no passion too cruel or remorseless, to be engendered by this horrid system (American slavery). It brutalizes all who administer it, and seeks to efface the likeness of God stamped on the brow of its victims. It makes the former class demons, and reduces the latter to the level of brutes."—*Rev. Thomas Price, Hackney, 1837.*

"The immediate abolition of slavery is spoken of as difficult

and dangerous. We would however remark, that during the struggle for the abolition of British Colonial Slavery, the friends of the slave in this country, including all the most distinguished advocates of abolition, both in and out of Parliament, were brought to the conclusion that immediate emancipation was an act of Christian duty, and that difficulty and danger would arise from a measure of supposed preparation, instead of being counteracted by it. These opinions were embraced by them, although nearly all had previously held contrary views, and were forced upon them by a consideration of the nature of slavery; its violation of human rights; its deplorable effects on the physical, intellectual, moral, and religious condition of its victims; and by a knowledge of the vast number of instances in which the despotic power vested in the slaveholder was fearfully abused. Moreover, the baneful influence of slaveholding on the character of the administrators of the system, was shown to be no less deplorable than its effects were on the slave himself. We feel it a solemn duty to recommend the immediate termination of a guilty and incurably vicious system, and shall be truly glad to know that all who take an interest in the Address are agreed, not only on the necessity of a great change in the existing state of slavery, but on the desirableness and safety of its termination at a very early period."—*Samuel Gurney, E. N. Buxton, Joseph Sturge, G. W. Alexander, 1852.*

In his Commentary upon Isaiah xxxviii. 6, Dr. Adam Clarke says,—“ How can any nation pretend to fast or worship God at all, or dare profess that they believe in the existence of such a Being, while they carry on what is called the slave-trade, and traffic in the souls and blood and bodies of men? O, ye most flagitious of knaves and worst of hypocrites! cast off at once the mask of religion, and deepen not your endless perdition by professing the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ while ye continue in this traffic ! ”—1760–1832.

“ I would make slaveholding *prima facie* evidence against a man, so as on this ground to raise the question of his piety.”—*Phelp's Letters*, p. 49.

“ Our proper and only means of action is to spread the truth

on the subject of slavery, and let none conteinn the means because of its gradual influence ; it is not, therefore, less sure."

"The man who, on hearing the claim to property in man, does not see and feel distinctly that it is a cruel usurpation, is hardly to be reached by reasoning ; for it is hard to find any plainer principles than what he begins with denying."—*Rev. Dr. Channing, United States, 1779–1842.*

"In no species of merchandise is there such a waste of the raw material as in the merchandise of man. In what other trade do two-thirds of the goods perish, in order that one-third may reach the market ? The vast amount of suffering, and the waste of human life, are but part of the evils of the slave-trade. It stands as a barrier excluding everything that can soften, or enlighten, or elevate the people of that vast continent. It suppresses all other trades, creates endless insecurity, kindles perpetual war, banishes commerce, knowledge, and social improvement, and, above all, Christianity, from one quarter of the globe, and from hundreds of millions of mankind.

"Let slavery be imposed on man, of whatever race, that man is found a poor, tame, degenerate creature. But let a man have the privileges of freedom, and his abilities of displaying themselves, and the degradation acquired under the yoke rapidly disappears ;—

‘The fire of nature in his bosom burns,
And as the *slave* departs the *man* returns.’”

—*Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton, Bart, 1786–1846.*

"Great God ! How long, how long is this iniquity to continue ?"—*Sir T. F. Buxton, Bart.*

“O liberty ! thou choicest treasure,
Seal of virtue, source of pleasure,
Life without thee knows no blessing,
No endearment worth caressing.”

Popular British Song.

"Moved by the Rev. Daniel M'Fie, and seconded by the Rev. A. Arthur :—‘That, in the opinion of this meeting, the system of slavery, as by law established in the United States of America, whereby three millions and a half of human beings are held as property by their fellow-men, bought and sold as

such, and subjected every moment to all the liabilities attaching to any other description of property, is utterly opposed to those inalienable rights with which God has invested every man, to all principles of truth and justice, to the provisions of all righteous government, and to the law of God; and that, therefore, it becomes our duty, as men and Christians, to seek, by all scriptural and lawful means, its entire overthrow.”—Resolution adopted at a public meeting of the inhabitants of Edinburgh, 8th Nov., 1852, presided over by the Right Hon. the Lord Provost.

“My object is to develope and enforce those eternal principles of inherent rights, as alike applicable to the helpless and oppressed African, as they are to any other portion of the human family.”—*Frederick N. Dyer.*

“Has not his heart, as thine, the love innate
Of liberty?”—*Frederick N. Dyer.*

“Americans,—We plead with you on behalf of three millions and a half of immortal beings whom you hold in bondage. We plead for the removal of the curse from their brow, the gall from their earthly cup, the chain from their limbs, the iron from their souls. We plead for the immediate, unqualified, and entire abolition of slavery throughout your land.

“It is not necessary that we enter on any lengthened proof of the evils of this system. It carries its condemnation with it. That condemnation is heard in groans of anguish, and written in tears of blood. It has been inscribed, as with letters of fire, on the desolated hearts and homes of millions. The voice of the Eternal proclaims it. A system which subjects three millions and a half of human beings to the condition of mere ‘chattels personal’ in the eye of the law; which deprives them of all their rights and privileges as intelligent and accountable creatures; which disallows or breaks asunder the most sacred ties of life; which virtually annuls ‘the higher law’ of God, and substitutes in its stead the absolute will of a sinful man as the rule of obedience; which robs its victims of the fruits of their toil, and denies to them the means and opportunities of cultivating their deathless faculties—a system which sanctions atrocities like these must be essentially wrong and unutterably shameful, and cannot be mentioned in the same breath with

truth, righteousness, and freedom.”—The Friendly Remonstrance of the people of Scotland, on the subject of Slavery, 1852.

“ Hark ! to the voice from yon fair land,
Where all the sweets of nature grow :

Who tills the soil

With grief and toil ?

The wretched slave ! the child of woe !

“ O piteous sight ! O hapless throng !

Is there no mercy strong to save ?

Must thousands die ?

In Slavery——

Their only freedom in the grave ?”—*Caroline M. Fry.*

“ The crimes to which that detestable and infernal traffic has given birth, are greater in amount, and more prolific of human misery, than all the crimes that ever were committed from the beginning of the world to the present time.”—From a Speech at Tiverton, Sept., 1851, by *The Right Hon. Lord Palmerston, M.P.*

“ The total abolition of slavery is now identical with the propagation of Christianity. It deserves the whole energy of our minds, and it must ultimately triumph, as the cause of Christ himself.”—Letter of *Captain Walker*, Edinburgh, 1845.

“ What monsters of inhumanity—what unequalled pirates—are slaveholders ! Buying and selling men, women, and children ! Tearing from each other those bound together in the closest and dearest relations ! Unutterable crimes !”—*Gerrit Smith*, Peterboro, State of New York. (A member of the American Congress.)

“ The testimony of ages, and the testimony of the unchangeable principles of human nature, assure us that slavery is ‘evil, and evil continually.’ It is evil from its own nature, and in spite of all efforts to make it a good. An institution, so founded in wrong, so imbued with injustice, cannot be made a good. It is radically, essentially evil. Every good man should earnestly pray and use every virtuous influence, that an institution so blighting to human nature may be brought to an end.”—*Rev. Dr. Channing.*

“ The vision fled slowly away,
 And another appeared in its place :—
 I witnessed the great judgment-day !
 And the branded, down-trodden, enslaved negro race,
 With their tyrants and task-masters, stood face to face !

“ Then spoke ONE from the cloud which he trod—
 ‘ *If man has no mercy on man,*
How can man hope for mercy from God ? ’
 And a cry of despair through the multitude ran,
 There is no hope for men who have trafficked in man.”

James Hurnard, Colchester, 1845.

“ Slavery is a sin. We assert the incompatibility of Christianity and slavery—that they cannot exist together, that man has no right to enslave his fellow-man for his own advantage, and without any fault of the slave. We affirm that the liberty and deliverance which Christ proclaimed, apply especially and directly to the system of slavery.”—*Rev. Charles B. Gribble, M.A., Incumbent of St. Paul’s, Whitechapel, formerly missionary in Canada, 1852.*

“ To uphold slavery is a crime before God. Can it be otherwise than a sin to enslave the soul by en chaining the body ? Can it be otherwise than sinful to compel prostitution by the lash ? to exhaust life by continuous labour under the cart-whip ? to scourge men and women into disobedience to God, that they may pander to the luxuries and debaucheries of man ? to desecrate the Sabbath, to debar from marriage, to supersede the authority of the parent, to pollute the chastity of the child, to sever all the ties of nature, to degrade the intellectual animal to passive brutality, to fetter the conscience with manacles and handcuffs, to blind it in dungeons and workhouses ? ”—*Sir George Stephen.*

“ The slave-trade, the transcendent and master evil, by far the greatest, with its revolting horrors, that ever afflicted humanity. After being too long tolerated, this wholesale murder and robbery was denounced by the entire civilized world. One security (should the extensive villainy attempt to rear its head again) we believe to be adequate and perfect ; the deep and universal conviction of the people of England that the nuisance must be abated ; and that, as they possess the undoubted power,

they will feel it to be their bounden duty, utterly to suppress and put it down.”—*Lord Denman.*

“That slavery is an enormous evil, and ought to be put an end to, is the settled opinion of every English subject. Can brave and honourable men endure to be surrounded with a timid and cowering race, whom they must rule by chains and the scourge, because slavery has extinguished in their breast all power of independent thought and manly action? Can they bear to expose their own moral character, and that of their children, to the contamination of such contact, and the temptation of despotic power?”—*Lord Denman.*

“Slavery is an atrocious sin. It is opposed to the Bible, so flagrant is its impiety, so disastrous its effects on the eternal interests of the oppressor and the oppressed, that all that is Christian among us, should be summoned, and concentrated, and quickened into action for its extermination.

“How is it possible that piety can prosper, when under the sanction of the very church, they who profess it are clinging tenaciously to the rod of the oppressor—are refusing to break its yoke, and to cast it away from them in flat deniance of the Word of God, and are enriching themselves by the terrible alchemy of turning the blood of their fellow-creatures into silver and gold.”—*Rev. David Young, D.D., Perth.*

“I could not forbear exclaiming ‘Heaven will curse that man who engaged in such traffic, and the government that protects him in it.’”—*Rev. James H. Dickey, America, 1824.*

“In horrible contempt of the American government, innocent men are led in chains beneath its flag. The eyes of the sublimely-soaring eagle of American liberty are highly insulted while she is made to hover over the detestable chains of cruel bondage! The feelings of humanity are shocked at seeing the most oppressive sorrows of suffering innocence mocked with all the lightness of sportive music! And who can help feeling indignant at seeing the American flag becoming the derision of tyrants!

“O that every tender heart could be made acquainted with the sorrows of the poor enslaved Africans! O that every sympathetic ear could hear their agonizing groans! Then would the energies of our natives arise and demand their relief. But

their sufferings are unknown ; they far transcend the highest description that can be given by the pens of mortals

“Eternal sovereign of the sky,
Wilt thou not hear the negro’s sigh ?
Wilt thou not break his galling chains,
And ease him from his dreadful pains ?
Yes, ‘mancipators all must feel
‘Thy vengeance like a racking wheel,
That on them shall for ever turn,
Long as thy ceaseless wrath shall burn !”

Rev. John Rankin, Presbyterian Pastor, Brown County, Ohio.

Of Slavery.—“In this system all the produce belongs to the landlord. The food and other necessaries of his labourers are part of his expenses. The labourers are part of his expenses. The labourers possess nothing but what he thinks fit to give them, and until he thinks fit to take it back ; and they work as hard as he chooses, or is able to compel. Their wretchedness is only limited by his humanity, or his ‘enlightened self-interest.’ With the first consideration, we have, on the present occasion, nothing to do. What the second, in so detestable a constitution of society, may dictate, depends on the facilities for importing fresh slaves. If full-grown able-bodied slaves can be procured in sufficient numbers, and imported at a moderate expense, enlightened self-interest will recommend working the slaves to death, and replacing them by importation, in preference to the slow and expensive process of breeding them. Nor are the slave-owners generally backward in learning this lesson. It is notorious that such was the practice in our own slave colonies, while the slave-trade was legal ; and it is said to be so still in Cuba, and in those States of the American Union which receive a regular supply of negroes from other States.”

—*Principles of Political Economy*, published 1848.—*John Stuart Mill.*

Dr. Bowring, in an address to the Americans, after contrasting some of the stupendous works of nature, which characterize the New World, with those of the Old World, concludes :

“And if thus *your* works of nature
Our sublimest works outdo ;
Should not Man—earth’s noblest creature—
Should not Man be nobler too ?

From our couching, cowed example,
 When your Pilgrim fathers fled,
 Reared they not a prouder temple,
 Freedom's temple o'er your head ?

Tyrant stories stain *our* pages ;
 Priests and kings have forged *our* chains ;
Ye were called to brighter ages ;
Ye were born where Freedom reigns.

Many a dreary, dark disaster,
Here has dug the freeman's grave ;
Ye have never known a master,
 How can ye endure A SLAVE ?"—*Dr. Bowring.*

"On the page of history, one deed shall stand out in bold relief—one consenting voice pronounce—that the greatest honour England ever attained, was when, with her sovereign at her head, she proclaimed—The slave is free ! In the pages of history this act will stand out the gem in our diadem."—*Rev. Hugh Stowell.*

" Ah, there are—whose tears and partings
 Touch no cord in Pity's breast ;
 Day but brings them toil and anguish,
 Night a fearful rest,
 For the slave no bow of promise,
 In life's cloud is seen."—*Elizabeth Lloyd, Jun.*

" The slave, the slave hath many wrongs,
 Where might her pleader be ?"—*Lucy Hooper.*

Rev. E. Davies, mentioning an exhibition of slaves for sale in New Orleans, observes, "It was Saturday morning ; and with my professional habits, I naturally thought of the many divines in that very city, who were at that moment shut up in their studies, preparing their discourses for the morrow. I wished I had them all before me. I could have given every one of them a text to preach upon. I would have said, 'Gentlemen, see there ! and blush for your fellow-citizens. See there ! and never again talk of American liberty. See there ! and lift up your voices like so many trumpets against this enormity. See there ! and in the face of persecution, poverty, imprisonment,

and (if needs be) even death itself, bear your faithful testimony, and cease not until this foul stain be wiped away from your national escutcheon.”—*Rev. Ebenezer Davies*, late minister of Mission Chapel, New Amsterdam, Berbice.

“There is nothing mean, cruel, grovelling, or bloody, of which the pro-slavery spirit is not the fruitful parent. In the United States it has abolished trial by jury, on questions that concern the life, honour, and liberty of millions. It corrupts the judgment-seat, degrades the people, makes religion a laughing-stock, turns the constitution of the great Republic into an engine of the most shocking oppression against the most defenceless portion of the people, and is productive of incalculable material and moral evil. How absurd it is to expend millions annually in efforts for the civilization and evangelization of the heathen, if we are obliged, by the comity of nations, to be silent against this system of enforced heathenism, concubinage, and moral murder, in the midst of a nation that vaunts more loudly of her love of liberty and her Christian graces than do all other nations put together.”—*Richard D. Webb* (Editor of the *Antislavery Advocate*).

“Nothing of tragedy can be written, can be spoken, can be conceived, that equals the frightful reality of scenes daily and hourly acting in the United States, beneath the shadow of American law and the shadow of the cross of Christ.”—*Harriet Beecher Stowe*.

The Rev. J. Cotton, of Otley, in a lecture delivered in 1853, the Rev. the Vicar in the chair, animadverted upon slavery as it exists in the United States, condemning it in strong terms, quoting, in illustration of his sentiment, the following appropriate lines:—

“To think that man, thou just and gentle God,
Should stand before Thee with a tyrant’s rod,
O’er creatures like himself with soul from Thee,
And dare to talk of perfect liberty.
Away ! away ! I’d rather hold my neck
In doubtful tenure from a Sultan’s beck,
In climes where liberty has scarce been nam’d,
Nor any right but that of ruling claim’d.

Than thus to live where bastard freedom waves
 Her fustian flag in mockery over slaves ;
 Where (motley laws admitting no degree
 Betwixt the vilely slaved and madly free)
 Alike the bondage and the license suit,
 The brute made ruler and the man made brute."

" We assure the women of England that their sympathy and encouragement are highly valued by the good and true, who are struggling to banish slavery from this fair continent. By the grace of God, and our own untiring efforts, we will abolish this gigantic evil."—*Massachusetts' Spy.*—1853.

" Mothers of New England, such are the fruits of slavery ! Horrible ! Oh ! in the name of the blessed God, teach your children to hate it, and to pity its victims."—*Essex Transcript* (United States paper).

" I, young in life, by seeming cruel fate,
 Was snatched from Afric's fancied happy seat.
 What pangs excruciating must molest,
 What sorrows labour in my parents' breast !
 Steeled was that soul, and by no misery moved,
 That from a father seized his babe beloved :
 Such, such my case. And can I then but pray
 Others may never feel tyrannic sway !"

Phillis Wheatley ; (formerly a slave.)

" Should not the talent and energies of the country be directed to the momentous inquiry, ' How can slavery now be peacefully and rightfully removed ? ' "—*George W. Perkins*, United States, 1852.

" Much effort will yet be necessary to break the yoke of the oppressor. The slave power in America is yet mighty and selfish, and will not easily surrender its ill-gotten and iniquitous gain. The system, however, is doomed, and sooner or later must fall before the spirit of the age and the claims of humanity.

" For, ah, what wish can prosper, or what prayer,
 For merchants rich in cargoes of despair ;
 Who drive loathsome traffic, gauge, and span,
 And buy the muscles and the bones of man ? "

—*Report of the Dundee Female Anti-Slavery Association*, 1852.
 Provost Thoms in the chair.

“ Slave-trade :—The nefarious traffic which disgraces this Christian era of the world. Legions of crimes are its necessary attendants.

“ Slavery !—It is time to expose this glaring blot on our holy Christianity, and on the name of humanity—to stimulate to united efforts till this disgrace be wiped away, and cease—only to be regarded as a barbarous institution of the past, never more to raise its fearful form to subjugate and demoralize mankind.”
—*Edinburgh Ladies' Emancipation Society* 1851.

“ Thou dreadful curse ; O slavery !
When will thy influence cease,
And in those sunny regions reign
God's universal peace ?”—*Ohio Columbian*, 1853.

“ After the experience gained, nothing tends more to mislead many abolitionists than the plan of *gradual emancipation*; it is unjust towards the slaves—‘ doing evil that good may come ;’ and as for the slaveholders, Who would ever think of recommending thieves to *gradually give up stealing* ?

“ Commercial union with slaveholders is the root of all the evil: as long as we are the best customers for the purchasing of American cotton, all moral efforts against slavery must be retarded. Slaveholders, if there was a true elevated public sentiment, should be scouted from society, they being the greatest of all thieves. Why should the *greatest villains* be received *in the character of gentlemen*, when the petty pilferer is condemned in disgrace to imprisonment and labour ?”—*Lieut. F. A. Calder, R.N.*, Honorary Secretary of the Belfast Anti-slavery Society.

“ The orphan from his mother torn,
And pining from his native shore,—
Poor tortured slave—poor wretch forlorn—
Can I his early death deplore ?
I pity those who live and groan :
—For swelled with many a wretches' moan
Is Western India's sultry breeze.
Come, justice, come ! in glory drest,
O Come ! the woe-worn negro's friend,—
The fiend-delighting trade arrest,
The negro's chains asunder rend.”—*Amelia Opie*.

“Slavery, being an outrage on the inalienable rights of man, and a violation of all the laws of God, it becomes the solemn duty of every human being to labour for its entire and immediate abolition.”—*Leeds Anti-Slavery Society*.

“Persevere in representing, boldly and unceasingly, the right which the negro has to emancipation, and the utter unlawfulness of that system of spoliation and plunder which first made him a slave, and still continues him so—I say unlawfulness, in the most precise sense of that term. No law which man can enact can give one a right over the compulsory labour of another, except as the punishment of crime proved by evidence. I say it advisedly, no man has any lawful property in the labour of another, except by free compact.”—*Lord Nugent*, 1830.

“American slavery is the greatest, foulest wrong which man ever did to man; the most hideous and detested sin a nation has ever committed before the just, all-bounteous God—a wrong and a sin wholly without excuse.”—*Theodore Parker*, 1848.

Address to a Dying African from his Companions in Slavery.

“Fear not now the tyrant’s power,
Past is his insulting hour;
Mark no more the sullen trait
O’er slavery’s brow, of scorn and hate,
Hear no more the long sigh borne,
Murmuring on the gales of morn!

Go in peace, yet we remain
Far distant, toiling on in pain;
Ere the great sun fires the skies,
To our work of woe we rise;
And see each night, without a friend,
The world’s great comforter descend.”

Rev. John Bowles, M.A. 1750-1788.

“Under the iron reign of this crushing sentiment, that negroes are fitted only for a state of slavery, most of us who are assembled here to-day drew our first breath, and sighed away the years of our youth. No hope cheered us: no noble object looming in the dim and distant future kindled our ambition. Oppression—cold, cheerless oppression, like the dreary region

of an eternal winter—chilled every noble passion, and fettered and paralyzed every arm. And if among the oppressed millions there were found here and there one in whose bosom the last glimmer of a generous passion was not yet extinguished—one who, from the midst of the inglorious slumberers in the deep degradation around him, would lift up his voice and demand those rights which the God of nature hath bestowed in equal gift upon all His rational creatures, he was met at once by those who had at first denied, and then enforced with the stern reply, that, for him and for all his race, LIBERTY and EXPATRIATION are inseparable.”—*Hilary Teage*, coloured Senator of Liberia (the son of a Virginian slave).

“ Now dragg'd once more beyond the western main,
 To groan beneath some dastard planter's chain ;
 Where my poor countrymen in bondage wait
 'The long enfranchisement of lingering fate :
 Hard lingering fate ! while, ere the dawn of day,
 Roused by the lash, they go their cheerless way ;
 And as their souls with shame and anguish burn,
 Salute with groans unwelcome morn's return,
 And, chiding every hour the slow-paced sun,
 Pursue their toils till all his race is run.
 No eye to mark their sufferings with a tear :
 No friend to comfort, and no hope to cheer :
 Then, like the dull unpitied brutes, repair
 To stalls as wretched, and as coarse a fare ;
 Thank Heav'n, one day of misery was o'er,
 Then sink to sleep, and wish to wake no more.”

Gustavus Vassa, (an intelligent negro, once a slave.)

“ I am happy to be surrounded by a great number of influential men from all countries, who have come to promote this godlike work—[the abolition of slavery]. I hope they will never cease their benevolent movement till it has effected the liberty of all mankind. That such a result will be accomplished, I have no doubt, though it may not be realized in our time.”—*Edward Baines, M.P.*, in the World's Anti-slavery Convention, held in London in 1840.

“ I pray God to look down in mercy upon the labours of the Anti-slavery Society which has been formed to deliver us from bondage. I have seen the blood run down the negro's back ;

I have seen the poor creatures confined in chains; but how shall I rejoice when I return to my native country to tell my friends I have seen those gentlemen who delivered us from the accursed system, which is the ruin of men's souls as well as their bodies! Slavery brings men down to the level of four-footed beasts.”—*Henry Beckford*, of Jamaica, who was 28 years a slave.

The following lines, by Addison, contrasting liberty and slavery, were omitted in their proper place:—

“How has kind Heaven adorned the happy land,
And scattered blessings with a liberal hand!
But what avail her unexhausted stores,
Her blooming mountains and her sunny shores,
With all the gifts that heaven and earth impart,
The smiles of nature and the charms of art.
While proud oppression in her valleys reigns
And tyranny usurps her happy plains?
O Liberty, thou power supremely bright,
Profuse of bliss, and pregnant with delight!
Perpetual pleasures in thy presence reign,
And smiling plenty leads thy wanton train.
Eas'd of her load, subjection grows more light,
And poverty looks cheerful in thy sight.
Thou mak'st the gloomy face of nature gay;
Giv'st beauty to the sun and pleasure to the day.”

Joseph Addison.

The opinions of the historian Abbé Raynal regarding slavery, have already been given at p. 26 and 27. The following are his observations after describing the mode of securing slaves, and conducting them to the coast:—“Reader, while thou art perusing this horrid account, is not thy soul filled with the same indignation as I experience in writing it? Dost thou not, in imagination, rush with fury upon these infamous conductors? Dost thou not break those forks with which these unfortunates are confined, and dost thou not long to restore them to liberty?”—*Abbé Raynal.*

“I hold slavery to be a sin, as absolutely as any man can do.”
—*Rev. Charles Stovel*, London.

"I have described some of the horrors of the slave-trade, because, when our constitution was formed, we pledged ourselves not to abolish this traffic until 1808.

"We began our career of freedom by granting a twenty years' lease of iniquity—twenty years of allowed invasion of other men's rights—twenty years of bloodshed, violence, and fraud! And this will be told in our annals—this will be heard of to the end of time!"—*Lydia Maria Child*. Appeal in favour of that class of Americans called Africans, 1833.

"O sons of freedom! equalize your laws—
Be all consistent—plead the negro's cause—
Then all the nations in your code may see
That, black or white, Americans are free."

Author unknown.

"The supporters of the *system* [slavery] will hereafter be regarded with the same public feelings as an advocate of the slave-trade now is. How is it that legislators and public men are so indifferent to their fame? Who would now be willing that biography should record of him—'*This man defended the slave-trade.*' The time will come when the record—'*This man opposed the abolition of slavery,*' will occasion a great deduction from the public estimate of height of character."—*Jonathan Dymond*. Essays on the Principles of Morality.

"I have neither time nor words in which to express my unalterable abhorrence of slavery, with all the odious apologies and blasphemous claims of Divine sanction for it that have been attempted. I regard all attempts, by legislation or otherwise, to give the abominable system aid and comfort, as involving treason against the government of God, and as insulting the consciences and common sense of men."—*Charles G. Finney*, Oberlin, United States, 1852.

"It is really matter of astonishment to me that the people of Maryland do not blush at the very name of freedom. Not content with exposing to the world, for near a century, a speaking picture of *abominable oppression*, they are still ingenious to prevent the hand of generosity from robbing it of half its horrors."—*William Pinckney*. Speech in Maryland House of Delegates, 1789.

"In the eastern parts of the State, the slaves considerably outnumber the free population. Their situation there *is wretched beyond description*. Impoverished by the mismanagement which we have already attempted to describe, the master, unable to supply his own grandeur and maintain his slaves, puts the unfortunate wretches upon short allowance, scarcely sufficient for their sustenance, so that a great part go half-naked and half-starved much of their time. . . . Generally, throughout the State, the African is an abused, a monstrously outraged creature."—Manumission Society of North Carolina. Report, 1826.

"Sir, I envy neither the head nor the heart of that man, *from the North*, who rises here to defend slavery on principle."—John Randolph. Speech in Congress, 1829.

"It is a practice, and an increasing practice, in parts of Virginia, TO REAR SLAVES FOR MARKET. How can an honourable mind, a patriot and a lover of his country, bear to see this 'ancient dominion' converted into one vast menagerie, where *men are reared for market like oxen for the shambles*?"—Thomas T. Randolph. Speech in Virginia Legislature, 1832.

"What is slavery as it exists among us? We reply, it is that condition, enforced by the laws of one-half of the States of this confederacy, in which one portion of the community, called masters, is allowed such power over another portion, called slaves, as—

"1. To deprive them of the entire earnings of their own labour, except only so much as is necessary to continue labour itself, by continuing healthy existence—thus committing *clear robbery*.

"2. To reduce them to the necessity of universal concubinage, by denying to them the civil rights of marriage—thus breaking up the dearest relations of life, and encouraging *universal prostitution*.

"To deprive them of the means and opportunities of moral and intellectual culture; in many States making it a high penal offence to teach them to read—thus *perpetuating whatever evil there is that proceeds from ignorance*.

"4. To set up between parents and their children an autho-

rity higher than the impulse of nature and the *laws of God*, which breaks up the authority of the father over his own offspring, and at pleasure separates the mother at a returnless distance from her child—thus abrogating the clear laws of nature, thus outraging all decency and justice, and degrading and oppressing thousands upon thousands of beings created, like themselves, in the image of the Most High God. THIS IS SLAVERY, as it is daily exhibited in every Slave State."—*Rev. R. J. Breckenridge*, of Baltimore. *African Repository*, 1834.

"Brutal stripes, and all the various kinds of personal indignities are not the only species of cruelty which slavery licenses. The law does not recognise the family relations of a slave, and extends to him no protection in the enjoyment of domestic endearments. The members of a slave family may be forcibly separated, so that they shall never more meet till the final judgment; and cupidity often induces the masters to practise what the law allows. Brothers and sisters, parents and children, husbands and wives, are torn asunder, and permitted to see each other no more. These acts are daily occurring in the midst of us. The shrieks and the agony often witnessed on such occasions proclaim, with a trumpet tongue, the INIQUITY AND CRUELTY OF OUR SYSTEM."—*Synod of Kentucky. Address*, 1835.

"Slavery is ruinous to the whites. The master has no capital but what is vested in HUMAN FLESH. The father, instead of being richer for his sons, is at a loss to provide for them. There is no diversity of occupations, no incentive to enterprise. *Labour of every species is disreputable*, because performed mostly by slaves. Our towns are stationary, our villages almost everywhere declining, and the general aspect of the country marks the curse of a wasteful, idle, reckless population, who have no interest in the soil, and care not how much it is impoverished."—*T. Marshall*, of Fauquier county, Virginia. *Speech in Virginia Legislature*, 1845.

"I cannot express too strongly my conviction that, if there be truth in revelation, it is the duty of every Christian to promote, by all legitimate means, not only the universal and total,

but the *immediate* abolition of any system in which man can hold property in man.”—*Joseph Sturge.*

“ I marvel at struggles endured,
With a destiny frightful as mine,
At the strength for such efforts :—assured
Tho’ I am, ’tis in vain to repine.

I have known this sad life thirty years,
And to me, thirty years it has been
Of suff’ring, of sorrow, and tears,
Ev’ry day of its bondage I’ve seen.

But ’tis nothing the past—or the pains,
Hitherto I have struggled to bear,
When I think, O, my God ! on the chains,
That I know I’m yet destined to wear.”

Placido (a Cuban slave).

“ Doubtless, the bolts are now forging in some celestial armoury destined to strike the shackles from the limbs of the bondman, and cleanse the land from the foulest and blackest iniquity ever organized and legalized in the Christian world. The shout of deliverance may come when it is least expected ; nay, the very means employed to render its coming impossible, will probably secure and hasten it. For that and every other needed reform, let the humane and hopeful strive, not despairing in the densest midnight, and realizing that the darkest hour is often that preceding the dawn. Let them, squandering no opportunity, and sacrificing no principle,

‘ Learn to labour, and to wait.’ ”

—*Horace Greeley, United States, 1852.*

“ What is morally wrong, cannot be made practically right. The laws of morality are taught in the Bible. They are unchangeable truths. No sophistry, no expediency, no compromise, can set them aside.

“ If politics is the science of government, and if civil government is a Divine institution, intended to protect the rights of all ; if ‘ an injury done to the meanest subject, is an injury done to the whole body ;’ and if ‘ rulers must be just, ruling in the fear of God,’ all legislation should be based on moral duty. Any enactments that have not this basis, are, in the Divine sight, null and void. If man is endowed by nature

with inalienable rights, no legislation can rightfully wrest them from him. Any attempt to do it is an infraction of the moral law. Our religious, moral, and political duties, are identical and inseparable. It is the duty of all Christian legislators so to act *now*, as they know they all must act, when truth and righteousness shall have a universal prevalence on the earth."

—Lindley Murray Moore, United States, 1852.

"O slavery——

Profuse of woes, and pregnant with distress,
Eternal horrors in thy presence reign ;
Pale meagre famine leads thy horrid train ;
To each dire load subjection adds more weight,
And pain is doubled in the captive's fate :
O'er nature's swelling face thou spread'st a gloom,
And to the grave dost every pleasure doom."

Anonymous.

Annual assembly of the Congregational Union in London, May 16, 1851, the Rev. John Kelly of Liverpool, in the chair:—Moved by Josiah Conder, Esq., seconded by Rev. William Owen, supported by Rev. Dr. Campbell, and carried unanimously, "That this assembly, while most anxious to reciprocate sentiments of fraternal regard and unity, towards the pastors and churches of the same faith and order as those in connection with this Union in the United States of America, more especially towards the descendants of the venerated Pilgrim Fathers in the New England States, deem it their duty to renew their solemn and indignant protest against slavery as it now exists among the American churches; and, in particular, to express their great surprise and deep sorrow at the conduct of those ministers, of various denominations, who have given either direct countenance or tacit support to the Fugitive Slave Law, recently passed by the American legislature; inasmuch as they cannot but regard that wicked and accursed statute as being, in the language of the eminent patriot and philanthropist, Judge Jay, 'a palpable violation of the principles of justice, the rights of humanity, and the religion of Jesus Christ;' a law to which no one who would obey God rather than man, can consistently or righteously submit. And this assembly would earnestly pray that the Divine Head of

the Church, in whom there is neither bond nor free, would open the eyes of all Christian ministers and churches in the United States, to the aggravated guilt of participating in the sin of man-stealing, or holding their brethren in unjust and cruel bondage—a sin which, in the opinion of this assembly, raises an insuperable barrier to church fellowship with them, on the part of all who, in this particular, reverence the authority of God, and respect the inalienable rights of their fellow-men.”

The Bey of Tunis abolished the slave-trade and slavery within his territories, “for the glory of mankind, and to distinguish them from the brute creation.”

“ Think you we have no feelings for these slaves,
 And are the willing instruments of knaves,
 Who drain the life’s blood of the negro’s core,
 And leave the guilt and odium at our door ?
 Think you, for us there’s profit in the gain,
 Wrung from the mortal agony and pain,
 Of sinking strength, or sickness and despair
 We daily witness, and we must not spare ?
 Think you, for us there’s pleasure in the groans
 Of mothers, listening to the piteous moans
 Of wailing infants, stretched before their eyes,
 They dare not leave the hoe, to hush those cries,
 Nor ask the driver for a moment’s rest,
 To soothe the child, that’s screaming for the breast ?
 These sights and scenes become, no doubt, in time,
 Familiar to us, and with some the crime
 Finds favour even—but not much with me ;
 I would not care if every slave was free,
 And every planter too to toil compelled,
 We are their dogs, and worse than dogs are held.”

The Cuban Overseer, by *Dr. Madden.*

“ Between slavery and freedom there is, and can be no affinity; nor can all the compromises in the world unite and harmonize what God, by his eternal law, has put asunder.”—*George W. Julian, Indiana, member of United States Congress.*

Hume remarks, “ I shall add, from the experience of our planters, that slavery is as little advantageous to the master as to the man.”

"Slavery is impolitic on the broad principle, that a man in a state of bondage will not be so serviceable to the community as one who acts for himself, and whose whole exertions are directed to the advancement of his own fortune; the creation of which, by regular means, adds to the general prosperity of the society to which he belongs. This undoubted and indisputable fact must be still more strongly impressed on the mind of every one who has been in the habit of seeing the manner in which slaves perform their daily labour."—*Koster's Travels in the Brazils.*

Dr. James Anderson, in a work, *Observations on Slavery*, published in 1788, showed that the labour of a West India slave cost about thrice as much as it would cost if executed by a free man.

Dr. Dickson, who resided in Barbadoes as secretary to the late Hon. Edward Hay, the governor of that island, observes, in a letter published in his work on slavery, "You need not to be informed that it has been known for many ages, by men of reflection, that the labour of slaves, whether bought or bred, though apparently cheaper, is really far dearer in general than that of free men."

From calculations made under the guidance of an able mathematician and experienced engineer, he infers, "that field slaves probably do not do more than a third of what they would do if urged by their own inherent, instead of brute force."

"It is the practice in this country (America) to recognise slaveholders as Christians. It is done in the church, and in society. Ninety-nine in every hundred of the people do not question a man's Christian character, because he is a slaveholder. Now, we would write down the men who enslave and traffic in human beings, as unfit for the church as the pirate. Nothing can be more abhorrent to the spirit of Christ:—

"Just God and holy,
Is that church which lends
Strength to the spoiler, thine?"

Lucy Stone (United States), 1852.

"This is our answer when we are asked why we denounce the churches. Because they are teaching a horrible doctrine,

and sustaining horrible crimes. When the church buys, sells, and heathenizes God's children, and blasphemously appeals to the name of Christ as its sanction, no language is strong enough to describe it. Talk of their piety! Though their prayers were longer than the Pharisees, and their praises were solemn and unceasing, it is all a mockery while they trample on God's image. Judge ye therefore what is Christianity, and give not the holy name to that which violates its laws, and has none of its spirit."—*Mary Grew* (United States), 1852.

"Thousands amongst us cannot read the Word of God, and but seldom hear it, and whose instruction in the truth is *little concern* to their owners, to *God's ministers*, or to any other person whatsoever." "I am utterly amazed, and I ask, can the pure love of God, and of the lost souls of men, animate the Christian ministers of our land?"—*Bishop Meade*, of Virginia.

"The horrors of this nefarious traffic [the slave-trade], the miseries endured by the poor victims, are but little known. The inherent wretchedness and abominations of the system, the cruelties and agonies,

"Worse

Than fables yet have feigned, or fear conceived."

"Wondrous and unheard-of distresses, tales of rapine, and of carnage ; pictures of agony and woe ; a whole continent eclipsed and benighted, by the malignant orbs of slaughter and murder ; shrieks, wails and moanings, the clank of chains, the sound of flagellation and the utterance of despair are wafted to our ears. Bolts, fetters, brands and shackles, dark prison-holes, and the gloomy dungeons of ' perfidious barks,' are the objects that flit before our sight.

'But God is telling us, that, whereas the past has been dark, grim, and repulsive, the future shall be glorious ; that the horrid traffic that does—

‘The multitudinous seas incarnadine,
Making the green one red ;’

shall yet be entirely staunched—that the whips and brands, the shackles and fetters of slavery, shall be cast down to oblivion ; that the shades of ignorance and superstition, that have so long settled on the mind of Africa, shall be dispelled ; and that all her sons, on her own broad continent, in the Western isles,

and in this republic [United States]; shall yet stand erect beneath the heavens—

‘With freedom chartered on their manly brows,’

their bosoms swelling with its noblest raptures—treading the face of earth in the links of brotherhood and equality, and in the possession of an enlarged and glorious liberty!”—*Rev. Alex. Crummell*, B. A. of Cambridge University. A black Episcopal clergyman, late of New York.

“Heathenism is as real in the slave states as it is in the South Sea Islands, and our negroes are as justly objects of attention to the American and other boards of missions, as the Indians of the western wilds.”—*Western Luminary*, Lexington, Ky.

The synod of South Carolina and Georgia said in 1834:—

“The negroes are destitute of the gospel, and *ever will be*, under the present state of things.”—“The coloured population may justly be considered *the heathen* of this Christian country, and will bear comparison with heathen in any country in the world.”—*Report*, in *Charleston Observer*.

“There are” (“within the bounds of our Synod”) “at least one hundred thousand slaves, speaking the same language as ourselves, who *never heard* of the plan of salvation by a Redeemer.”—*Charleston Observer*.

Ignatius Sancho, an intelligent negro, in a letter to Sterne, in which he desires to interest him on behalf of his oppressed and suffering race, has the following remarks:—“Your sermons have touched me to the heart, and, I hope, have amended it. In your tenth discourse is this very affecting passage: ‘Consider how great a part of our species, in all ages down to this, have been trod under the feet of cruel and capricious tyrants, who would neither hear their cries nor pity their distresses. Consider slavery, what it is, how bitter a draught, and how many millions are made to drink of it.’ Of all my favourite authors, not one has drawn a tear in favour of my miserable black brethren, excepting yourself and the humane author of *Sir George Ellison*. I think you will forgive me, I am sure you will applaud me, for beseeching you to give one half hour’s attention to slavery, as it is at this day practised in our West

Indies. That subject, handled in your striking manner, would ease the yoke perhaps of many ; but if only of one—gracious God ! what a feast to a benevolent heart.”—*Ignatius Sancho.*

—“ Guilty man his brother bound—
O ! darkest stain on British ground,
O ! frightful source of woe !
But now that stain is wash’d away,
And British hearts with gladness pay
The debt they justly owe.

—“ Rejoice, and hail the day,
When dire oppression’s servile sway
And fetters bind no more ;
When liberty and mercy smile,
And gladness o’er Britannia’s isle
Resounds from shore to shore.

“ Thanks to our God, at whose command
Are still’d the winds and waves ;
And whose protecting power and care
E’en Afric’s sable sons shall share—

Heaven never made them slaves !”

Jane Bragg, Whitehaven, 1834.

“ We feel impelled to address you at this time, in the language of Christian love, on behalf of three millions of our and your fellow beings—brethren and sisters—held in unrighteous bondage in your country.

“ We deeply grieve that any professing Christians of *our* land should have given the right hand of fellowship to such a system, by joining in communion with its upholders, by assisting to throw the mantle of Christianity over the iniquity of slavery, and, in so doing, rivetting the fetters on the limbs of the slave, and stifling the cries of his distress. Let us unite in every effort to withdraw the veil, to expose the horrors underneath, and to proclaim the right throughout our land and yours. If we are members of churches whose teachers attempt to screen slavery ; if their prayers make mention of the slave-holder, forgetting the *slave* ; if our fellow-members join in these acts—then let us lift up *our* voices for the oppressed, let us protest against such unchristian distinctions ; and, should our remonstrances prove unavailing, then let us obey the command, ‘Come out from among them, and be ye separate.’ Sisters !

will you unite with us in bearing this testimony to the honour of Christianity and the cause of humanity?"—Address of the Women of Edinburgh to the Women of the United States, 1847, signed by 10,337 females.

"Slavery can be, and must be abolished. Whenever the public mind shall be prepared, and the public conscience shall demand the abolition of slavery, the way to do it will open before us, and then mankind will be surprised at the ease with which the greatest of social and political evils can be removed."

Hon. Wm. H. Seward, United States, 1852.

"Whene'er to Afric's shores I turn my eyes,
 Horrors of deepest, deadliest guilt arise :
 I see, by more than fancy's mirror shown,
 The burning village and the blazing town ;
 See the poor victim torn from social life,
 The shrinking babe, the agonizing wife !
 The wretch forlorn is dragg'd by hostile hands
 To distant tyrants, sold to distant lands ;
 Transmitted miseries, and successive chains,
 The sole sad heritage her child obtains !
 E'en this last wretched boon their foes deny
 To live together, or together die.
 By felon hands, by one relentless stroke,
 See the fond links of feeling nature broke !
 The fibres twisting round a parent's heart,
 Torn from their grasp, and bleeding as they part."

Hannah More.

"So much has already been written concerning the evils of slavery, and by men so much more able to pourtray its horrid form than I am, that I might well be excused if I were to remain altogether silent on the subject; but however much has been written, said, and done, I feel impelled, by the voice of my own conscience, from the recent experience which I have had of the alarming extent to which the traffic in human beings is carried on, and the cruelties, both bodily and mental, to which men in the condition of slaves are continually subjected, and also from the hardening and blasting influences which this traffic produces on the character of those who thus treat as goods and chattels the bodies and souls of their fellows, to add another testimony of, and protest against, the foul blot on the

state of morals, of religion, and of cultivation in the American republic. I feel convinced that enough has not been written, said, or done, while nearly four millions of human beings, possessing immortal souls, are, in chains, dragging out their existence in the southern states. They are keenly alive to the heaven-born voice of liberty. Having myself been in the same position, but, by the blessing of God, having been enabled to snap my chains and escape to a land of liberty, I owe it, as a sacred duty to the cause of humanity, to devote my life to the redemption of my fellow-men." — *Henry Box Brown*, a fugitive from American slavery.

" How long, O gracious God ! how long,
 Shall power lord it over right ?
 The feeble, trampled by the strong,
 Remain in slavery's gloomy night ?
 How long shall Afric raise to thee
 Her fettered hand, O Lord ! in vain,
 And plead in fearful agony
 For vengeance for her children slain ?
 I see the Gambia's swelling flood,
 And Niger's darkly rolling wave,
 Bear on their bosoms, stained with blood,
 The bound and lacerated slave ;
 While numerous tribes spread near and far,
 Fierce, devastating, barbarous war.
 Earth's fairest scenes in ruin laid,
 To furnish victims for that trade,
 Which breeds on earth such deeds of shame,
 As fiends might blush to hear or name."

J. M. Whitfield (United States), 1851.

The *Times* on President Pierce's inaugural address :— " The maintenance of the Union is more and more identified with those acts of wrong which are a curse to the United States, and revolting to human nature. General Pierce has invented a mild term to describe that monstrous oppression of man by man. He calls it ' involuntary servitude,' as if this euphemism could disguise the infamy of unrewarded labour, of the traffic in man, of violated human affections, and extinguished human souls. It is only ' involuntary servitude,' and the President has even the naïveté to boast that ' the oppressed throughout the world are

constantly cheered by the steady and increasing lustre of American freedom ; and that ‘in this, the United States have, in his judgment, fulfilled their highest duty to *suffering humanity*.’ Yet the very condition on which this proud political fabric is henceforth to stand, is one which perpetuates *the keenest wrongs that humanity can suffer*; and all the splendid promises of a free and united government are linked, by this policy, with all that is *hideous, terrible, and degrading in negro slavery.*”—*Times, London, March 18, 1853.*

“ Shall a Briton, shall a man, ‘honoured with a Christian name,’ encourage slavery, because the same barbarous, unenlightened African hath done it ? To what end, (it is impressively asked) do we profess a religion whose dictates we so flagrantly violate ? Wherefore have we that pattern of goodness and humanity, if we refuse to follow it ? How long shall we continue a practice which policy rejects, justice condemns, and piety revolts at ?

‘ Where wast thou then, sweet charity, where then,
Thou tutelary friend of helpless men ?
Perish the wretch, that slighted and withstood
The tender argument of Christian blood.’ ”

The African Boy, by the author of *Twilight Hours Improved*.

“ There are questions of principle, before whose iron truth all the so-called ‘ practical ’ petty views which the narrowness and materialism of the age make so great parade of, shrink into silence. Such a question of principle is that of negro emancipation in America. It is so great a disgrace to humanity, that among a people who call themselves Christians and civilized, and in a confederation which so often sets itself up as a model for the states of old Europe, there should be hundreds of thousands of human beings robbed of every right of man, subject to the most brutal caprice, and without circumlocution or disguise treated as mere things and merchandise—this, we say, is so immense a disgrace, that the state polluted by it, and which protects it and cherishes it by laws and institutions, sanctioned by republican representatives of the people, thereby necessarily divests itself, in the eyes of all other peoples, of the right to say anything whatever concerning the holiest interests of nations. So long as the North Amercian Union numbers, in its confedera-

tion, states where men are publicly sold to the highest bidder, and where, for the sake of miserable greed, children are torn from the arms of their mothers, and wives from the hearts of their husbands, and sold into the hands of some rich planter—so long as in these states the whip is the means of governing a whole unhappy and despised brother-race, so long should the ‘glorious Union’ refrain from all ideas of intervention, from all republican propaganda.”—*The Augsburg Allgemeine Zeitung*, the most widely read newspaper in Germany, 1853.

“ Dead to the joys of light and life, the slave
 Clings to the clod ; his rest is in the grave.
 Bondage is winter, darkness, death, despair ;
 Freedom the sun, the sea, the mountain and the air ?”

Montgomery.

“ Slavery, with its heritage of ignorance and degradation, its machinery of the lash and the chain, its disruption of every tender bond, in the separation for sale, of father and mother, brothers and sisters, children and parents, and with its den of iniquity, a human market-place, is the deepest of human wrongs, and a system utterly antagonistic to the pure, loving spirit of Jesus Christ and his gospel.”—*Walthamstow Anti-Slavery Society*, 1851.

“ The slave is a man, entitled, before God, to all the rights and privileges of a human being; and any and all institutions based upon his enslavement are unjust, fraudulent, never to be tolerated, never to be allowed to rest in peace.”—*Edmund Quincy*, United States, 1853.

The Rev. Dr. Montgomery of Belfast recently delivered a most eloquent speech against negro slavery, which occupied nearly three hours. Commenting on the bearing of slavery upon the bodily, intellectual, moral, and spiritual condition of its victim, he observed, it was like vice, as described by the Poet, that indeed it

“ Was a monster of so hateful mien
 As, to be hated, need but to be seen.”

“ May God’s blessing accompany it [the Address of the Women of England to those of America], and hasten the day

when the fetters of the slave shall be for ever snapped asunder !

“ ‘ Haste, happy day ! the time we long to see,
When every son of Adam shall be free.’ ”

Band of Hope Review, a London Monthly, 1853.

Amongst the champions for the freedom of the slave must be included the Rev. Thomas Burchell, who was twenty-two years a missionary in Jamaica. He fought nobly for the enfranchisement of the sons of Ethiopia, with Knibb and others, until their emancipation was achieved.

“ Ever battling with the oppressed,
'Against the oppressor, still they stand.
What's the goal ? Emancipation !
Slavery's fetters to unbind ;
Liberty for every nation ;
Love and peace for all mankind !
Rights maintaining—wrongs redressing ;
* Law revered and understood ;
Sovereignty both blest and blessing ;
Universal brotherhood !”

Memoirs of Rev. Thomas Burchell, 1849.

“ Still the terrible *fact* remains. Still *the tears and blood of the enslaved are daily dropping on our country's soil*. Throw over it what veil of extenuation and excuse you may, the essential crime and shame remains. Believe as kindly as you can of the treatment which the slaves receive of humane and Christian masters, it is only on condition that they first surrender their every *right* as men. Let them dare demur to that, and their tears and blood must answer it. That is the terrible fact ; and our country [America] is the abettor, the protector, and the agent of the iniquity. Must we be indifferent ? *May* we be indifferent ? It is a question of tremendous import to every free man in the land, who honestly believes that the rights he claims as a man are common to the race.”—*Professor J. H. Raymond*, United States, 1852.

“ When I see the ministers of my country's law consigning men, with flesh and blood like my own, with homes and business, with wives and children,

As dear to them, as are the ruddy drops
That visit their sad hearts ;

men unaccused of crime, and eating the daily bread of honest labour—consigning them, I say, and their posterity, to hopeless vassalage and degrading chattelhood, by a process, too, which tramples under foot the most ancient and sacred guarantees of my own and my neighbours' rights—when I see this great nation lay its terrible grasp upon the throat of a feeble, unoffending man, and thrust him back to worse than a felon's fate for doing that which no casuistry can torture into a crime, I am compelled to feel that *it is myself* engaged in this atrocious business; and no one but myself can rid me of the responsibility. I can no longer be silent; I dare no longer be silent; I will no longer be silent. I will remonstrate, and cry shame! To speak is no longer a mere right; it has become a religious duty.”—*Professor J. H. Raymond.*

“ Beautiful and happy will this world be, when slavery, and every other form of oppression, shall have ceased.”—*Gerrit Smith*, Peterboro, United States, 1852.

“ How long—thy people cry—O Lord, how long !
Shall not thine arm ‘shake down the bolted fire !’
Can deeds like these of God-defying wrongs
Escape His ire ?

Must judgments,—such as swept with fearful tread
O'er Egypt when she made thy people slaves,
Where thy hand strewed with their unburied dead
The Red Sea's waves ?

Must fire and hail from heaven upon us fall,
Our first-born perish 'neath the avenger's brand,
And seven-fold darkness, like a funeral pall,
O'erspread the land ?

We kneel before thy footstool, gracious God ;
Spare thou our nation, in thy mercy spare ;
We perish quickly 'neath thy lifted rod
And arm made bare.”

J. M. Eells, West Troy, United States, 1851.

“ Who will believe that any man ought to have the ownership of another, when it is so rare to find one of us wholly competent to govern and to own himself.”—*Rev. E. Buckingham*, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1852.

"Slavery is directly opposed to Scripture, and is a blot on North America. Let us pray, and let us hope that the time of its extinction draweth nigh."—*Rev. William Marsh, D.D.*, Beckenham, late of Leamington, 1853.

"What is the system against which we are arrayed? A system which, in its crimson ledger, writes down men as property! It is open rebellion against God—a walking horror—a system, the character of which no language can portray—a system that destroys the body, and crushes the soul of its victim. There is terror in the very word 'Slavery.' It is all that is horrible—it is treason against the government of the Infinite. Any government which thus rebels against the Divine, will be dashed to pieces, and it deserves to be. Is it treason to speak thus? Let me be a man; let me maintain my allegiance before the court of heaven, though I give offence to my fellows."—*Joseph A. Dugdale*, United States, 1851.

"The seizure of men and women on the coast of Africa, for the purpose of enslaving them, is denounced by our government [the American] as piracy, and forbidden by our laws on the penalty of death. The seizure of their descendants on the borders of Pennsylvania, is required by our government as a high civil duty, and a refusal to perform it is punished by our laws with fines and imprisonment. The act, in either case, is the same; geographical lines can make no difference in its character. If it be a crime on the coast of Africa to enslave human beings, it is a crime in the State of Pennsylvania. We would not commit it in the one case; we will not commit it in the other. In no place, under no circumstances, neither in obedience to law, nor in violation of law, can we be induced, or will we be compelled, to perpetrate the iniquity of consigning a human being to slavery.

"The Fugitive Slave Law we regard as an infraction of the constitution, an offence against the code of nations, and a violation of the law of God. We cannot, we will not obey it. On the contrary, we will, on all proper occasions, and in all proper ways, discourage obedience to it, and do what in us lies to cancel it on the statute-book, or make it a dead letter in practice.

"These are our views, frankly avowed. This is our pur-

pose, and we publish it to the world. We will not disguise the one, and—come fines, come imprisonment, come death—with the help of God, we will not swerve from the other.”—Report of Pennsylvania Anti-slavery Society, 1851, *James Mott*, President.

“ But O ! before you close your eyes,
God’s care and blessing crave,
On the saddest of His children,
The poor heart-broken slave.”

Annie Parker (United States), 1852.

“ Right, freedom, and humanity, all concur in demanding the abolition of slavery.”—*Hon. Charles Sumner*, United States Senator, 1852.

“ Generally speaking, the slaves appear to us to be without God in the world, *a nation of heathen* in our very midst. We cannot cry out against the Papist for withholding the Scriptures from the common people, and keeping them ignorant of the way of life ; for we withhold the Bible from our servants, and keep them in ignorance of it ; while we will not use the means to have it read and explained to them.”—*Rev. C. C. Jones*, of Georgia.

“ Must we wear slavery’s yoke ?
Bear of her lash the stroke,
And prop her throne ?

Lashed with her hounds, must we
Run down the poor, who flee
From slavery’s hell ?
Great God ! when we *do* this,
Exclude us from thy bliss ;
At us let angels hiss,
From heaven that fell !”

John Pierpont (United States), 1851.

“ Slavery is a sin against God, and a crime against man, which no human enactment or usage can make right ; and Christianity, humanity, and patriotism, alike demand its abolition.”—Resolution of Convention at Buffalo, United States, August 11, 1852.

“ Three millions of our fellow-creatures are held in cruel

bondage in the United States of America, and are regarded as mere property—as much so as horses, pigs, or cattle. The ancestors of these poor people, for no fault of their own, were carried away by force from Africa, their native country, and sold into slavery to America, and now their descendants are condemned to the same miserable condition. Yet these victims of cruelty and avarice are equal in God's sight with ourselves. They have the same feelings of pleasure and of pain that we have, and are as fully entitled as the rest of mankind to all the blessings of freedom of which they are now unjustly deprived.”

—Dublin Anti-Slavery Society.

“The people of the United States, without the least hesitation, declare—and they fully believe it—that we are the freest nation on earth. But here we have slavery, a vicious usage which European nations, excepting one, have long since laid aside. This they have done, not only because it was productive of innumerable visible evils, but because it greatly and injuriously affected the character of all concerned in it, and in this way the character of the whole community—making one part of it proud and imperious, another suppliant and servile. Why did we suffer slavery to find a place in a constitution in which there are so many good things; why did we make a garden of healthful fruits and enchanting flowers, and place this serpent in it?”—*James G. Birney*, United States, 1852.

“The chiming of the distant bell comes borne
 On the faint wing of the flower-laden air ;
 It breaks the stillness of the Sabbath morn,
 And summons to the rites of praise and prayer ;
 But I no more can in that worship share,
 No longer bend at that familiar shrine ;
 The altar that my heart hath deemed so fair
 Is lit no longer by a light Divine.
 No prayer goes upward from yon temple high,
 For the deliverance of the trampled slave !
 His cruel wrongs, his bitter destiny,
 In yon proud courts may no remembrance crave.
 From such a spot my heart in sorrow turns,
 And for a purer, holier worship burns.”

—*Anne Warren*, Weston, (United States), 1840, “Sunday morning in the country.”

"By the eternal principles of natural justice, no master has a right to hold his slave in bondage a single hour."—*William Pinckney, Maryland.*

"Slavery, or the holding of one man as property by another, is contrary to justice and humanity, and therefore not to be tolerated in civilized countries."—*Charles Hindley, M.P., 1853.*

"Living so near to the scene of slavery, we cannot but deeply deplore its continuance in the world, and especially in your mighty nation—a nation whose influence for good might be co-extensive with the civilized world, were it not for this foul blot, which mars its glory and paralyses its power.

"We would then ask you, in the spirit of Christian love, to use that influence which, as sisters, as daughters, and as mothers, you possess, for the *abolition* of a system which deprives its victims of the fruits of their labour; which substitutes concubinage for the sacred institution of marriage; which abrogates the relation of parent and child, tearing children from the arms of their parents, and parents from each other; which shrouds the intellect of rational beings in the dark gloom of ignorance, and forbids the souls of immortal beings from holding communion with their Maker; and which degrades man, created in the Divine image, to the level of a beast. We repeat not this dark catalogue of crime needlessly to wound your feelings, or in a spirit of self-complacency, as if we and our fathers were free from all guilt, but with the view of deepening your sympathies on behalf of the sufferers. We ask you to ponder seriously and dispassionately the fact, that the system which generates such evils is becoming daily more deeply rooted in your soil, and hence more difficult to be cured or eradicated."—Address of the Women of Canada to their Sisters of the United States.

At an extraordinary meeting in Exeter Hall, London (April 18, 1833), of delegates from every part of the United Kingdom—gentlemen of different religious denominations, from the chief towns in England, Scotland, and Ireland—THREE HUNDRED AND SIXTY-NINE assembled, unanimously declaring, "Slavery shall cease in the British dominions." On the following morning they carried their memorial, to this effect, to

the house of Earl Grey, presented it to Lord Althorp and Mr. Stanley; by which act the seal was virtually set upon negro emancipation.

To this circumstance allusion is made in the following lines by the Rev. Thomas Timpson :—

“ A mighty host the law of Christ proclaimed :
The Rulers heard, and bowed to the decree ;
Patrons of tyranny shall not be named,
The Senate cried—‘ the NEGROES MUST BE FREE ! ’

Hail Briton, hail ! the jubilee make known ;
Now tell the injured Negroes, *they are men !*
While they with gladness thy late justice own,
Their prayers shall rise for thy long prosperous reign.”

William IV., king of Great Britain, having signed the *magna charta* of the slave in 1833, since that moment not a slave can breath in any British dependency :—

“ They touch our country and their shackles fall ;
That moment they are free ! ”

The following pathetic outburst of eloquence, from one of Africa's own sable sons, affords a true picture of the evils arising from the enslavement of his race. The writer is himself a fugitive from bondage :—

“ The woeful volume of our history, as it now lies open to the world, is written with tears and bound with blood. As I trace it, my eyes ache, and my heart is filled with grief. No other people have suffered so much, and none have been more innocent. If I might apostrophize that bleeding country, I would say, O Africa, thou hast bled, freely bled, at every pore ! Thy sorrow has been mocked, and thy grief has not been heeded. Thy children are scattered over the whole earth, and the great nations have been enriched by them. The wild beasts of thy forests are treated with more mercy than they. The Libyan lion and the fierce tiger are caged, to gratify the curiosity of men, and the keeper's hands are not laid heavily upon them. But thy children are tortured, taunted, and hurried out of life by unprecedented cruelty. Brave men, formed in the divinest mould, are bartered, sold, and mortgaged. Stripped of every sacred right, they are scourged if they affirm that

they belong to God. Women, sustaining the dear relation of mothers, are yoked with the horned cattle, to till the soil, and their heart-strings are torn to pieces by cruel separations from their children. Our sisters, ever manifesting the purest kindness, whether in the wilderness of their father-land, or amid the sorrows of the middle passage, or in crowded cities, are unprotected from the lust of tyrants. They have a regard for virtue, and they possess a sense of honour, but there is no respect paid to these jewels of noble character. Driven into unwilling concubinage, their offspring are sold by their Anglo-Saxon fathers. To them, the marriage institution is but a name, for their despoilers break down the hymeneal altar, and scatter its sacred ashes on the winds.

“Our young men are brutalized in intellect, and their manly energies are chilled by the frosts of Slavery. Sometimes they are called to witness the agonies of the mothers who bore them, writhing under the lash, and as if to fill to overflowing the already full cup of demonism, they are sometimes compelled to apply the lash with their own hands. Hell itself cannot overmatch a deed like this—and dark damnation shudders as it sinks into its bosom, and seeks to hide itself from the indignant eye of God.”—*Rev. Henry Highland Garnett*, a fugitive slave, now a missionary in Jamaica.

“In a country within ten days’ sail of us, inhabited by a race that has been in the possession of our blessed faith twelve centuries; in a country which, by every imaginable relation of commerce, religion, literature, laws, and kindred, may be said to touch ours, there are at this moment existing three million human creatures, systematically, knowingly, designedly, *kept back by force* from obeying that law which God made for them; *kept back by force* from the full improvement of which their nature is capable (and shown, in spite of all obstructions, to be capable, were they permitted to obey God); *kept back by force* from sharing in those results which human study of the natural, the Christian, and the social law has secured to the country and the age in which their lot has also been cast; *kept back by force* from breathing the moral atmosphere which all these influences united have raised around them, and which God intends for all his creatures, and compelled to breathe the air of a lower reli-

gion, morality, and civilization; *kept back by force* from the holiest truths; *kept back by force* from the most sacred relations; *kept back by force* from the proved and acknowledged blessings of the highest human laws.

This is a blasphemy and a crime unparalleled in human history. A dark and frightful anomaly—it covers the spot in the earth, and the age of the world in which it is done, with a peculiar and unparalleled blackness.”—*Rev. Charles Wicksteed, B.A.*, Leeds, 1853.

“I have ever objected to the slave-trade, slave-labour, and slave-laws—recognizing man chiefly as an animal and chattel, and not a fellow-man entitled to education and to the ordinary sympathies of Christian feeling—as contrary to the benign principles of Scripture, and therefore to be repudiated by patriots, politicians, and Christians of every denomination.”—*Apsley Pellatt, M.P.*, 1853.

“In reply to your question, ‘whether I consider slavery, or the holding of one man as property by another, to be contrary to justice and humanity,’ I beg to state that I am very decidedly of that opinion.”—*Matthew Talbot Baines, M.P.*, 1853.

“Blush ye not
To boast your equal laws, your just restraints,
Your rights defined, your liberties secured ;
Whilst, with an iron hand, ye crush to earth
The helpless African, and bid him drink
That cup of sorrow which yourselves have dashed,
Indignant, from oppression’s fainting grasp ?”

William Roscoe.

“Slavery, or the holding of one man as property by another, is contrary to justice and humanity; and it is the imperative duty of every country in which it exists, to adopt the earliest and most efficient means for its extinction.”—*William Scholefield, M.P.*, 1853.

“Slavery is a sin that transcends all other sins in point of virulence, degradation, oppression, cruelty, and pollution; and as such the slaveholder, his aider, abettor, or apologist, can present no forcible claim to the Christian name or character, and hence is entitled to no Christian fellowship or privilege any

more than the pirate, robber, or assassin."—Minute of the Wisconsin Conference of the Wesleyan Methodist Connection, October, 1852.

"Labour for the utter extinction of the foul abominations of American slavery."—Editors of *British Friend* (a Glasgow monthly), 1853.

"Cease, Wilberforce, to urge thy generous aim !
 Thy country knows the sin, and stands the shame !
 She knows, and she persists—still Afric bleeds ;
 Unchecked, the human traffic still proceeds ;
 She stamps her infamy to future time,
 And on her hardened forehead seals the crime.
 In Britain's senate misery's pangs give birth
 To jest unseemly, and to horrid mirth.—
 Forbear ! thy virtues but provoke our doom,
 And swell th' account of vengeance yet to come ;
 For not unmarked in Heaven's impartial plan,
 Shall man, proud worm, contemn his fellow-man,
 And injured Afric, by herself redrest,
 Dart her own serpents at her tyrant's breast.
 Each vice, to minds depraved by bondage known,
 With sure contagion fastens on his own."

Anna Lætitia Barbauld, 1743–1825.

"We will do all that in us lies, consistently with the declaration of our principles, to overthrow the most execrable system of slavery that has ever been witnessed upon earth ; to deliver our land from its deadliest curse ; to wipe out the foulest stain which rests upon our national escutcheon."—Declaration of American Anti-Slavery Society, 1833.

"We listen to clerical appeals and religious magazines, and the voices of an associated clergy, as though we heard them not, so full on the ear of every daughter among us falls the cry of the fatherless, and those who have none to help them ; so full in every motherly heart and eye rises the image of one pining in captivity, who cannot be comforted because her children are not."—*Maria Weston Chapman, 1837.*

"If persecution is the means which God has ordained for the accomplishment of this great end—emancipation, then, in de-

pendence upon him for strength to bear it, I feel as if I could say, Let it come ; for it is my deep, solemn, deliberate conviction, that this is a cause worth dying for.”—*Angelina E. Grimke Weld, 1837.*

“ Pity the Negro, lady ! her’s is not,
 Like thine, a blessed and most happy lot !
 Thou, shelter’d ’neath a parent’s tireless care,
 The fondly loved, the theme of many a prayer ;
 Blessing and blest, amidst thy circling friends,
 Whose love repays the joys thy presence lends,
 Tread’st gaily onward, o’er thy path of flowers,
 With ceaseless summer lingering round thy bowers.
 But her—the outcast of a frowning fate,
 Long, weary years of servile bondage wait.
 Her lot uncheer’d by Hope’s reviving gale,
 The lowest in life’s graduated scale—
 The few poor hours of bliss that cheer her still,
 Uncertain pensioners on a master’s will—
 ‘Midst ceaseless toils, renew’d from day to day,
 She wears in bitter tears her life away.
 She is thy sister, woman ! shall her cry,
 Uncared for, and unheeded, pass thee by ?
 Wilt thou not weep to see her rank so low,
 And seek to raise her from her place of woe ?
 Or has thy heart grown selfish in its bliss,
 That thou shouldst view unmoved a fate like this ?”

E. M. Chandler (United States).

“ Slavery, or the holding of one man as property by another, is contrary to justice and humanity, and therefore not to be tolerated in civilized countries.”—*Joseph Locke, M.P., 1853.*

“ In no country under heaven have negroes been reduced to such degrading servitude as that under which we labour, from the effect of American slavery and American prejudice. The separation of our fathers from the land of their birth, their earthly ties and early affections, was not only sinful in its nature and tendency, but it led to a system of robbery, bribery, and persecution, offensive to the laws of nature and of justice. Under whatever pretext or authority these laws have been promulgated or executed, we declare them, in the sight of

heaven, wholly null and void, and they should be immediately abrogated.

“We find ourselves, after the lapse of two centuries, on the American continent, the remnants of a nation, amounting to three millions of people, whose country has been pillaged, nine generations of which have been wasted by the oppressive cruelty of this nation, standing in the presence of the Supreme Ruler of the universe, and of the civilized world, appealing to the God of nations for deliverance. Surely there is no people on earth whose patriotic appeals for liberty and justice possess more hallowed claims on the just interposition of Divine Providence, to aid them in removing the most unqualified system of tyranny and oppression under which human beings ever groaned.”—*Rev. J. W. C. Pennington, D.D.*, United States, a black Independent minister.

“The surrender of fugitive slaves is positively prohibited by the laws of God delivered on Sinai.”—*John Quincy Adams*.

“This great question of the abolition of negro slavery, which has my entire sympathy, appears to me to have established its importance throughout the world. America, while continuing to uphold slavery, feels daily, more and more how heavily this plague weighs upon her destinies. I rejoice in these results.”—*O. La Fayette*, representative of the people of Seine et Marne, Paris, 1851. (Grandson of Marquis La Fayette).

“ On the ear
A thunder peal from sea to sea—
A peal earth’s darkest haunts shall hear—
Proclaims, *The Slave shall now be free !*
Long has he drain’d the bitter cup !
Long borne the scourge and dragg’d the chain !
But *now* the strength of Europe’s up—
A strength that ne’er shall sleep again !”

Dr. W. Beattie.

“More than fifteen hundred years ago, a Roman emperor forbade the separation of families of slaves, and ordered all which had been separated to be reunited. ‘Who can bear,’ said the emperor to his heathen subjects, ‘who can bear that children should be separated from their parents, sisters from their

brothers, wives from their husbands?" — *Theodore Parker's Letters.*

In 1836, the Presbyterian synod of Kentucky said to the world : "Brothers and sisters, parents and children, husbands and wives, are torn asunder, and permitted to see each other no more. These acts are daily occurring in the midst of us. There is not a neighbourhood where these heart-rending scenes are not displayed. There is not a village or road which does not behold the sad procession of manacled outcasts, whose chains and mournful countenances tell that they are exiled by force from all that their hearts held dear." — *Theodore Parker's Letters.*

"In ocean's wide domains,
Half buried in the sands,
Lie skeletons in chains,
With shackled feet and hands.

"These are the bones of slaves ;
They gleam from the abyss ;
They cry, from yawning waves,
'We are the witnesses !'

"Within earth's wide domains
Are markets for men's lives ;
Their necks are galled with chains,
Their wrists are cramped with gyves.

"Dead bodies, that the kite
In deserts makes its prey ;
Murders, that with affright
Scare school-boys from their play !

"All evil thoughts and deeds ;
Anger, and lust, and pride ;
The foulest, rankest weeds,
That choke life's groaning tide !"

H. W. Longfellow.

"In vain, Americans, do you seek to make nature a party to your detestable conspiracy against the rights of humanity, and your own flesh and blood. In vain do your laws proclaim that the children shall follow the condition of the mother. The children of free fathers are not thus to be cheated of their birth-right. Day by day, and hour by hour, as the chain becomes

weaker, so the disposition and the power to snap it become stronger. Day by day, and hour by hour, throughout the civilized world, sympathy diminishes for you, the oppressors, and sympathy increases for your oppressed victims, becoming, as they do, day by day, not by a figure of speech merely, or by a pedigree derived from Adam, but as a matter of notorious and contemporary fact, more and more your brethren, flesh of your flesh, and blood of your blood.

“Can you stand the finger of scorn pointed at you by all the civilized world? Can you stand the still, small voice of conscience, day by day, and hour by hour, re-echoing in your own hearts those uncomfortable epithets—slave-driver, slave-breeder, slave-hunter, dough face?

“It is your sin, your weakness, your want of faith, that have kept your nation wandering this forty years in the wilderness. With imaginations too dull and gross to raise you to the height of any mental Mount Pisgah; incapable to see, even in your mind’s eye, the distant prospect of good things to come; longing secretly in your hearts to return to the flesh-pots of Egypt; well content to make bricks for the Pharaohs; yourselves slaves hardly less than those whom you oppress; cowardly souls, frightened by tales of giants and lions, it were vain to expect that you should ever enter the promised land; cravens, fit only to die and to rot in the wilderness!

“But already is coming forward a new generation, to whom justice will be something more than a mere empty sound; something as imperiously forced upon them by their own sense of right, as by the clamours and demands of those who suffer. In vain do your priests and your politicians labour to extinguish, in the minds of the rising generation, the idea of any law higher than their own wicked bargains and disgraceful enactments. When to uphold slavery it becomes necessary to preach atheism, we may be certain that the day of its downfall is nigh. This must surely be the darkness which precedes the dawn; for what greater darkness than this is possible!

“The question is raised, and can be blinked no longer: Shall America be what the fathers and founders of her independence wished and hoped—a free democracy, based upon the foundation of human rights, or shall she degenerate into a miserable republic of Algerines, domineered over by a little

self-constituted autocracy of slaveholding lynchers and black-guards, utterly disregardful of all law, except their own will and pleasure?

“Yes, my young friends, it is to this destiny that you are called. Upon you the decision of this question—no longer to be staved off by any political temporizing—is devolved. Those who would be free themselves—so it now plainly appears—cannot safely be parties to any scheme of oppression. The dead and the living cannot be chained together. Those chains which you have helped to rivet on the limbs of others, you now find have imperceptibly been twined about yourselves, and drawn so tightly, too, that even your hearts are no longer to beat freely.”—*R. Hildreth, Esq.*, author of a *History of the United States, &c.*, 1852.

“Rejoice, O man! the hour has come
When slavery must cease to be;
The cry has risen from the sod
From suffering millions up to God,
And all mankind are free!”

Charles Mackay.

“The slavery of America is a great religious, social, and political wrong.

“We desire the immediate emancipation of the slave—the immediate extinction of the evil that dims all the glory of American independence. The sun of that glorious day of emancipation is rising—the fugitive slave-bill is a proof of it; it is the very last gasp of tyranny—the last struggle of the tyrant’s power and the morning star of freedom. Ere long our brethren of mankind shall join in the rapturous shout that shall arise from the hearts of an emancipated world.”—*Rev. George Jeffrey, Glasgow, 1853.*

“Three millions of our brothers are calling to us for help. And shall we hesitate or falter in the course that God has set before us, merely because we feel sure that our struggle will be most arduous—that we shall meet with political death; the estrangement of many dear friends; the chilling coolness of some, and the open enmity of others; detraction, hatred, abuse? No: let us steer right onward, nor abate a jot of heart or hope.

A regard for the slave demands of us struggle—earnest, hopeful manful.”—*William J. Bowditch* (United States), 1850.

“ Is it conceivable that a true Christian could regard or treat his own brother, the child of his own parents, as his *slave*? Surely it may be safely and confidently affirmed that *slavery* must cease to exist upon the earth, as soon as men shall introduce into the great family of God that domestic morality which, even in the present imperfect state of society, prevails for the most part in their private families; as soon as they shall learn to feel towards their heavenly Father as they actually do feel towards their earthly parents; as soon as they shall regard their brethren of mankind with an affection in any degree resembling that which, with rare exceptions, they cherish towards the beloved inmates of their homes, the dear fraternal band ; as soon as they shall have realized the truth, which they so often idly and vainly take upon their lips, when they say, ‘*Our Father!*’”—*Rev. Joseph Hutton, LL.D.*, Derby, 1853.

“ God made us free ! Between us and our Maker
No cloud should gather and no shade should fall ;
For he has called us each to be partaker
Of the free table richly spread for all.

“ Let none put out the light that God has granted ;
Let none deny fit nurture for the soul ;
Let none withhold the draught for which we’ve panted,
For he who willed the thirst prepared the bowl.”

Elizabeth C. Addey.

“ Slavery, or the holding of one man as property by another, is contrary to justice and humanity, and therefore not to be tolerated in civilized countries.”—*Frank Crossley, M.P.*, 1853.

“ It is not a subject of the slightest doubt for the philosopher, statesman, historian, and Christian of our day, that slavery is to be condemned. It has been maintained that the Bible and the Christian religion nowhere prescribe its abolition. But the existence of slavery among the Jews furnishes no model whatever for imitation in our times. How the command, ‘Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them,’ is to be reconciled with slaveholding, it is not easy to conceive.

“ It was the common opinion of the ancient world, that the greater the freedom possessed by some, the less must be that enjoyed by others. But with Christianity, the right and the recognition of personal freedom in the state, and of equality in the sight of God, were brought forward in so decisive a manner, that slavery can only continue to exist in opposition to the new doctrine that claims a release from it.”—America and the American people. By *Frederick Von Raumer*, Professor of History in the University of Berlin, 1846.

—————“ I thank thee, gracious God,
That I do feel upon my cheek the glow
Of indignation, when beneath the rod
A sable brother writhes in silent woe !”

Robert Southey (Poet Laureate).

“ O, ye who tore this man from peace and liberty !
Gaze hither, ye who weigh with scrupulous care
The right and prudent ; for beyond the grave
There is another world ; and call to mind,
Ere your decrees proclaim to all mankind
Murder is legalized, that there the slave,
Before the Eternal, thunder-tongued shall plead
Against the deep damnation of your deed.”

Robert Southey.

“ We read and talk of the *plague-spot* so familiarly, that we have almost lost sight of what it means. It would be well to re-consider it, and dwell upon it. If there is such a thing, for instance, as a state with an established vice in it ; if we know of such a thing as a democratic republic with a deep-seated tyranny in the midst of it, and call that tyranny a *plague-spot*, we had better ponder what that phrase truly means, and what it certainly forebodes. It is idle to take our eyes from it because the thoughtless exult in the vigorous youth of that state, in its bloom of promise, in the opening before it of a new and blessed career. If the *plague-spot* is there, the bloom and the promise will vanish like the dew, and the delicate beauty of the desert flower when the simoom is on the way. Decay and putrescence are at hand.”—*Harriet Martineau*, 1852.

“ The iniquities and horrors of slavery.” To labour for their removal is a good cause, “ involving the well-being, corporeal

and mental, physical and spiritual, temporal and eternal, of degraded, plundered, oppressed, darkened, brutalized, perishing millions.”—*Rev. Dr. Wardlaw*, 1853.

“This monster evil [slavery].”—*Rev. Dr. Paterson*, 1853.

“ Will God not hear the prayers
Of the poor negro slave ?
Yes, for the poor and needy
He promises to save ;
And who is poor and needy
Like the poor negro slave ?”

Catherine E. Beecher.

“ Slavery at all times is ugly as sin. But when it is allied in any way with a Christian church, its ugliness is brought into terrible relief. Here you see Christ and Belial, light and darkness, liberty and bondage, truth and error, heaven and hell, all confounded. With one heart and one voice we beseech the American churches to put away the unclean thing. Let them have no participation in its guilt. Let Christ’s church stand apart from such nefarious traffic. Let not her riches be gathered from the price of blood. Let not her support be drawn from the throne of iniquity.”—*Rev. Dr. Runciman*, 1853.

“ O God, speed the flight of the desolate slave,
Let his heart never yield to despair ;
There is room ‘mong our hills for the true and the brave,
Let his lungs breath our free northern air !

“ List to the ‘plaint of the heart-broken thrall,
Ye blood-hounds, go back to your lair ;
May a free northern soil soon give freedom to all,
Who shall breathe in its pure mountain air.”

Elias Smith (United States).

“ Slavery is a great wrong, and a terrible obstacle to the progress of the gospel. It is a relic of paganism and of barbarism.”—*Professor Stowe (United States)*.

“ Slavery is incompatible with Christianity.”—*Rev. Dr. Guthrie*, 1853.

“ Hark !—hear ye not the earnest cry
That peals o’er every wave ?

God above, in thy love,
O liberate the slave !

Great God, inspire thy children,
And make thy creatures just,
That every galling chain may fall,
And crumble into dust !

That not one soul throughout the land
Our fathers died to save,
May again, by fellow-men,
Be branded as a slave !”

R. C. Waterston.

“O church of Jesus ! consider what hath been said in the midst of thee. What a heresy hast thou tolerated in thy bosom ! *Thy* God the defender of slavery! *thy* God the patron of slave-law ! Thou hast suffered the character of thy God to be slandered. Thou hast suffered false witness against thy Redeemer and thy Sanctifier. The Holy Trinity of heaven have been foully traduced in the midst of thee ; and that God, whose throne is awful in justice, has been made the patron and leader of oppression. This is a sin against every Christian on the globe.”—*Harriet Beecher Stowe, 1853.*

“The man who holds his fellow-men in chains,
Must know himself as one the world disdains.”

Emma Mitchell.

“Land, which the tyrant long hath trod,
And dared usurp the Throne of God ;
Land, where the slave no respite knows
From toils, and strifes, and bitter woes.”

John Scoble.

“There is evidence enough to show that slavery, wherever it may be, encourages the most hideous vices. We war against slavery because it is a crime. We demand that it shall be abolished.”—*O. B. Frothingham, Salem, Massachusetts, 1852.*

Monsieur Tourguenoff, a Russian nobleman, published a work on Russia and the Russians, in 1847. This accomplished gentleman has been exiled and under sentence of death since 1825, for having cast in his lot with the serfs, by advocating their emancipation, while minister of finance and member of the Imperial Council of State.

“ Do ye remember those in bonds,
As ye with them were bound ? ”

Maria Lowell (United States).

“ That bitter wrong—our nation’s stain,
The slave’s excruciating chain ! ”

James Edmeston.

“ Is there the wise legislator, civilian, or jurist, who does not see and condemn, in the slave code, the opprobrium of legislation, the disgrace of jurisprudence, the subversion of equity, the promotion of lawlessness, the element of social insecurity, and the seeds of every crime which legislation and jurisprudence should suppress or restrain ? ”

“ Can the moralist look with unconcern upon a system that fosters every vice and represses every virtue—that opens the floodgates of immorality, and shuts up every fountain of enlightenment and reformation ? ”

“ Can the patrons of Christian missions do less than condemn the code that closes the avenues of missionary enterprise against millions of their own countrymen ? Can distributors of Bibles and religious tracts fail to remonstrate with the supporters of a system that forbids the distribution and the reading of them ? Can Christians, can Christian ministers and churches, be silent witnesses of all this enforced heathenism in our midst ? Can they regard with apathy or disfavour the effort to relieve from the condition of chattelhood, so many millions of precious souls for whom Christ died ? ”—*Rev. William Goodell*, author of the *American Slave Code*, &c. (United States), 1852.

“ Hark ! a voice from heaven proclaiming
Comfort to the mourning slave ;
God has heard him long complaining,
And extends his arm to save ;
Proud oppression
Soon shall find a grave.

“ Long, too long, have we been dreaming
O’er our country’s sin and shame :
Let us now, the time redeeming,
Press the helpless captive’s claim—
‘Till, exulting,
He shall cast aside his chain.”

Oliver Johnson (United States).

At a convention held in London, in 1840, and attended by upwards of 500 delegates assembled from all parts of the world, for the universal abolition of slavery and the slave-trade, it was resolved—"That to make or hold a man a slave is an offence against God, a grievous wrong to man, and should be viewed and dealt with as a sin."

This was probably the most distinguished body of philanthropists that ever met together, amongst whom were the following:—Rev. James Ackworth, A.M.; Robert Anderson, Esq., Trinidad; Wm. Wemyss Anderson, Jamaica; Geo. Fife Angas, Esq.; Rev. Joseph Angus, A.M.; Jonathan Backhouse; Saxe Bannister; Rev. Wm. Bevan; Sir T. W. Blomfield, Bart.; J. B. Brown, Esq. LL.D.; C. J. Buller, Esq., M.P.; Wm. Busfield, Esq. M.P.; Lieut.-Colonel Campbell; Rev. John Clarke, Jamaica; Capt. Wm. Cook; Wm. Dilworth Crewdson; James Cunliffe; Wm. Ewart, M.P.; Lieut. Charles Fitzgerald, R.N.; Rev. Giles Forward, Berbice; A. V. Hittie, Esq., Mauritius; Thomas Hodgkin, M.D.; Rev. Charles Ingle, M.A.; M. Isambert, Paris; Professor Johnstone, University of Durham; Rev. John Kennedy; Rev. Joseph Ketley, Demerara; Rev. Robert J. King, B.A.; Rev. J. D. Lang, D.D., Sydney; Lieut. C. Lapidge, R.N.; E. C. Lister, M.P.; Major Donald M'Gregor, Bahamas; Rev. James Matheson, D.D.; Rev. James Mirams, Berbice; Rev. R. Moffat; Capt. C. R. Moorsom, R.N.; John Murray, Esq., Glasgow; Richard Musgrave, Esq., Antigua; James Oswald, Esq., M.P.; Rev. Fielding Ould, A.M.; Samuel J. Prescod, Barbadoes; Rev. Hugh H. Seaborn, Berbice; Thomas Sheppard, M.P.; R. H. Schomberg, British Guiana; Monsieur Sismonde, Switzerland; Sir Culling Eardley Smith, Bart., M.P.; Sir Charles Style, Bart., M.P.; Colonel T. P. Thompson, M.P.; John H. Tredgold, Esq.; Rev. J. M. Trew, A.M.; Dr. Tritthen, Odessa; Senor Luis de Usoz y Rio, Madrid; Dr. J. F. Walter, Antigua; Capt. John Washington, R.N.; Capt. Wauchope, R.N.; Mr. Commissary Wemyss; Sir J. E. E. Wilmet, Bart., M.P.; Sir W. S. Wiseman, Bart.; and from the United States, Professor Wm. Adam; Rev. Herbert Beaver, A.M.; Rev. Nathaniel Colver; Professor James Dean; Rev. Elon Galusha; Rev. Henry Grew; Rev. Cyrus P. Grosvenor; Zina Hyde, Esq.; Rev. John Keep; Rev. Charles E. Lester; Rev. Samuel J. May; Colonel Jonathan P. Milner; Hon. John T.

Norton; Dr. J. McCune Smith; Hon. Seth Sprague; H. B. Stanton; Alvan Stewart, Esq.; and Dr. Norton Townshend.

A convention for similar objects was held in London, in 1843, consisting of upwards of four hundred delegates. One of the resolutions passed was—"That this convention hereby declares to the world its deliberate and solemn conviction that slavery, in whatever form or country it exists, is intrinsically opposed to all natural justice and genuine Christianity; and that, in proportion as these exert their legitimate vigour and influence in society, it must be destroyed."

Amongst the delegates were the following:—Samuel Bowley; Rev. Wm. Bunting; Joseph Brotherton, M.P.; Rev. Jabez Burns; Rev. John Campbell, D.D.; Rev. James Carlile; John Candler; Richard Cobden, M.P.; Rev. F. A. Cox, D.D., LL.D.; John Cropper; Marquis de la Rochefoucault Liancourt; J. Denistoun, M.P.; Joseph Eaton, Esq.; John Ellis, M.P.; Wm. Forster; Josiah Forster; Robert Forster; Rev. J. J. Freeman, of the London Missionary Society; James Cannings Fuller, United States; Charles Gilpin; R. K. Greville, LL.D.; Rev. James Hargraves; Rev. John Harris, D.D.; Rev. J. H. Hinton, A.M.; Wm. Howitt; Macgregor Laird, Esq.; Rev. Wm. Leask; Rev. Joshua Leavitt, United States; John Lee, Esq., LL.D.; Symphor L'Instant, Hayti; Sir Wm. Lowthrop; Right Hon. Dr. S. Lushington, M.P.; Charles Mackay; Rev. Edward Miall; Rev. John Morrison, D.D.; Mr. Sergeant Murphy, M.P.; C. Nichols, R.N.; J. Oswald, Esq., M.P.; Joseph Pease, M.P.; Rev. Amos Phelps, United States; Rev. J. M. Philippo, Jamaica; George Pilkington; Rev. Thomas Raffles, D.D., LL.D.; T. Rolph, M.D., Canada; David R. Ross, M.P.; Rev. Thomas Scales; Rev. Thomas Spencer; George Stacey; Rev. Dr. Edward Steane; Capt. Charles Stewart; Lewis Tappan, New York; J. E. Tenant, M.P.; Rev. Arthur Tidman; J. Trelawney, M.P.; Hon. C. P. Villiers, M.P.; Professor Walker, Oberlin; Rev. T. S. Wright, New York; Rev. Hiram Wilson, United States; Rev. John Young, A.M.

Were the drops composing this *Cloud of Witnesses against Slavery and Oppression* allowed to accumulate, it might become denser and denser, for every day does the cause of freedom gather strength, and will continue to do so till the bonds of

the oppressor be burst asunder, to be succeeded by the glorious sun-light of freedom. Already we may perceive,

“ On the ear
A thunder peal from sea to sea—
A peal earth’s darkest haunts shall hear !”

In the meantime, let us ask the upholders of slavery, “ Seeing ye are encompassed with so great a Cloud of Witnesses,” how can ye longer *protract* the glorious mission to which ye are called ?

“ Stand forth amid the nations ! diffuse the light God gave !
Deliverance to the captive one ! aye, freedom to the slave !”

We have said that every day adds to the Cloud of Witnesses against slavery. Truly “ day unto day uttereth speech, and night unto night increaseth knowledge.” Were it requisite to swell the multitude of evidence, we might include the half million signatures to the *Remonstrance of the Women of England against Slavery*, bound into the twenty-six folio volumes, and recently despatched, as the voice of the signers, to be heard 3000 miles over the wide Atlantic. A voice proclaiming “ the inalienable right of immortal souls under the pure and merciful spirit of the Christian religion,” appealing for the “ removal of the attendant calamities and crimes ” of slavery ; and asserting it “ to be a Christian duty, notwithstanding the difficulties that may exist, to terminate a system which deprives man of his rightful freedom ; withholds from him the just reward of his labour ; and which, both by law and in practice, in direct contravention of God’s law, ‘instituted in the time of man’s innocency,’ denies, in effect, to the slave the sanctity of marriage, with all its joys, rights, and obligations ; which separates, at the will of the master, the wife from the husband, and the children from the parents. Nor can we be silent on that awful system which, either by statute or by custom, interdicts to any race of man, or any portion of the human family, education in the truths of the gospel and the ordinances of Christianity.”

Among the five hundred thousand signatures to the above Document, were included a considerable number of the English

nobility. The darkest clouds are most frequently enclosed by a silver edge ; it may not, therefore, be inappropriate to conclude this catalogue of testimonies against the crowning crime of Christendom with their illustrious names, as protestors against, and advocates for, the extinction of this crying sin :—

Duchesses—Sutherland, Manchester, St. Albans.

Marchioness of Kildare.

Countesses—Gainsborough, Bandon, Sefton, Roden, Orkney, Winchelsea, Bantry, Leven, Annesley, Minto, Portarlington, Dowager of Kilmore, Clancarty, Meath, Carrick.

Viscountesses—Palmerston, Jocelyn, Gough, Massarene, Hill, Bernard, Bangor.

Ladies—Agnew, Harriet Bernard, Wriothesley Russell, Diana Beauclerk, Napier, Pirie, Grace Vandeleur, &c.

Such, then, is the Cloud of Witnesses against Slavery and Oppression, which still, supported by law, and by the countenance of the church, continue to rear their giant forms in the United States. Testimonies endless, and equally stringent, might be added to swell the catalogue, did space permit ; but surely evidence enough has been produced for the utter condemnation of the accursed system. Well indeed may we ask its upholders—

“ How can ye *endure* a slave ? ”

Americans ! wipe away this foul blot from your land, we beseech you. Break every yoke, and let the oppressed go free !

“ O, sons of freedom ! equalize your laws—
Be all consistent—plead the negro’s cause.”

You are called to a great and noble deed ; delay it not. There is, indeed, a grandeur in the idea of raising more than three millions of human beings to the enjoyment of human rights, to the blessings of Christian civilization, to

the means of indefinite improvement. The slaveholding States are called to a nobler work of benevolence than is committed to any other communities. They should comprehend its dignity. This they cannot do till the slave is truly, sincerely, with the mind and heart, recognized as a man, till he ceases to be regarded as property.

“Columbia! o'er the swelling wave
Join in the cry, ask freedom for the slave—
Immediate freedom; let no selfish clause,
No cruel policy, increase his woes.
Long hath he suffered—long been known to weep,
Whilst retributive justice seem'd to sleep;
Roused at the call of Freedom, from her trance,
She bids her sons in thy bright train advance
Their eloquence.—O! may it, as the roar
Of the loud thunder, vibrate to each shore
Of thy vast empire, e'en till every heart,
Fired with fresh ardour, in her cause take part.”

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“STRIKE THE IRON WHILE IT IS HOT.”

AMONGST the means recently adopted to expose the dreadful iniquities of Slavery, none has been more efficacious than the well-known publication, *Uncle Tom's Cabin; or, Negro Life in the Slave States of America*. The gratitude of the Christian public is especially due to the gifted authoress for that production of her graphic pen. Her name will be chronicled amongst the most conspicuous benefactors of the human race, and recurred to with feelings of the highest admiration and esteem, when the memory of those who have soaked the earth with human gore will be remembered with abhorrence, or consigned to oblivion.

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melted into tears? It is extremely desirable that this feeling should not be allowed to pass hastily away, without its leading to practical results. The old adage, "Strike the iron while it is hot," is especially applicable to the present moment. Some immediate means must be adopted to strengthen the impression, and fix it indelibly on the public mind, till slavery be eradicated. Now, it is the press we have to thank as the medium for calling forth much of this feeling, and as the press ever remains to be one of the mightiest instrumentalities that can be employed in the annihilation of systems of cruelty and despotism, the present favourable opportunity has been embraced for a general distribution of Anti-Slavery Tracts. Five hundred thousand have been printed, which can be supplied to the public at a very low cost; say 24 pages at 6s. 6d. per 100, 11d. per dozen; 12 pages, 3s. 6d. per 100, 6d. per dozen; 8 pages, 2s. 3d. per 100; 4 pages, 1s. 2d. per 100; 2 pages, 7d. per 100; and 1 page, 6d. per 100.

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ERRATA.

Page 107—for *Thomas T. Randolph*, read *Thomas J. Randolph*.

Page 124—for *Anne Warren*, Weston, read *Anne Warren Weston*.

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